MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 52

A MEMOIR ON KOTLA FIROZ SHAH, DELHI

BY

J. A. PAGE, A.R.I.B.A.

Late Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India

WITH A TRANSLATION OF *SIRAT-I-FIROZSHAHI*

BY

MOHAMMAD HAMID KURAISHI, B.A.

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Price Rs. 6 or 9s. 9d.

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PREFACE.

In the preparation of this memoir on the ruins of Kotla Firoz Shah at Delhi Mr. Page had in mind the desirability of attempting to retrieve for the reader the original "atmosphere" of the old fabric, with all its historical associations and charm; and to reveal the distinctive *trâits* and outlook of those who founded and peopled it in the 14th Century A.D.

As a means to this, Mr. Page had recourse to the original narratives of the *Mussalman* historians of the time (as translated in Messrs. Elliott and Dowson's invaluable volumes) and has quoted *in extenso* from their writings. Verbose and redundant though these annals often are, they nevertheless reflect, as nothing else can, the mentality of their environment and period, and will, it is hoped, help the reader to visualise the life of the time, and repopulate for him the empty remains of what was once the royal retreat of a Turkish King of Delhi.

Besides the works, particularly by Muslim historians referred to by Mr. Page in his Memoir, there exists another trustworthy and contemporary account of Firoz Shah's reign as narrated in the pages of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*, a Persian manuscript in Nastaliq characters deposited in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore and enlisted in its Catalogue as No. 547. From the Catalogue it appears that nothing is known about the author of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* but the verse at the end of the manuscript assigns the work to A.H. 772 (A.D. 1370), *i.e.*, the twentieth year of the reign of Firoz Shah. *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* thus chronicles the events of the earlier part of Firoz Shah's reign. It is divided into four chapters or *babs*; and the folios of the second chapter dealing with the removal of the *Minarah-i-Zarrin* (Golden Pillar) have been transcribed and translated by Mr. Mohammad Hamid Kuraishi, B.A., to form a supplement to Mr. Page's Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah. The illustrations contained in the original not only add charm to the manuscript but portray the minutest details of the removal of the pillar—its carriage in boats and installation on the citadel at Firozabad, where it stands to the present day.

J. F. BLAKISTON,
Director General of
Archæology.

New Delhi, March 1936.

A MEMOIR ON KOTLA FIROZ SHAH, DELHI.

FIROZABAD, THE TOWN.

" ....* The Sultan[1] having selected a site at the village of Gawin, on the banks of the Jamna, founded the city of Firozabad (1354 A.D.) before he went to Lakhnauti the second time. Here he commenced a palace,........ and the nobles of his court having also obtained (*giriftand*) houses there, a new town sprang up, five *kos* distant from Delhi. Eighteen places were included in this town, the *kasba* of Indarpat, the Sarai of Shaikh Malik Yar Paran, the Sarai of Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi, the village of Gawin, the land of Khetwara, the land of Lahrawat, the land of Andhawali, the land of the Sarai of Malika, the land of the tomb of Sultan Raziya, the land of Bhari, the land of Mahrola and the land of Sultanpur. So many buildings were erected that from the *kasba* of Indarpat to the Kushk-i-Shikar, five *kos* apart, all the land was occupied. There were eight public mosques and one private mosque....The public mosques were each large enough to accommodate 10,000 supplicants." "It included eight public mosques and one private mosque, three[2] palaces, a hunting box (*shikargarh*) and, says Carr Stephen, out of 120 rest-houses which Firoz Shah built in Delhi and Firozabad it may be supposed that more than half were in his capital. No traces of the outer walls have yet been discovered, but the city was probably the usual approximate half-hexagon in plan with the long side or base facing the Jumna. If we can believe the description of Shams-i-Siraj, it more than doubled the size of Shahjahanabad, reaching, as it did, the "Ridge" to the north and a point near Hauz Khas to the south. It included a considerable portion of modern Delhi, namely, the *Muhalla* Bulbuli Khana, Turkman Darwaza, and Bhojla Pahari. General Cunningham has estimated its population at 150,000. and if, he continues, another 100,000 is added as the population of old Delhi, this brings up the total number of inhabitants in the Indian Metropolis during the reign of Firoz Shah to a quarter of a million."

The *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* further tells that:

"After[3] his return from Lakhanauti (in the year 755 H.=1354 A.D.) the Sultan was much occupied with building. He completed with care the *kushk*

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* Elliott & Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 302-3, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*.

[1] Sultan Firoz (1351-1388 A.D.) of the house of Tughlaq, the dynasty of Karauna (half-breed) Turks founded by the Amir Malik Ghazi, in 1321 A.D. Sultan Firoz's mother was a daughter of the Rajput Raja Mal Bhatti of Depalpur; and his father, Sipah Salar Rajab, brother of Sultan Ghyasu-d-Din Tughlaq. He was born in 709 H. (=1309 A.D.) (*Vide* Elliott & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 271, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, and Lane Poole's *Mediæval India*, pp. 122 and 139).

[2] Delhi Zail Lists, Vol. II, p. 70.

[3] Elliott & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 317, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*.

at Firozabad, and also commenced a *kushk* in the middle of that town." Kotla Firoz Shah (more correctly *kushk*=palace) thus formed the inner citadel of Firozabad. Building[1] materials for the construction of Firozabad were obtained from Siri, Jahanpanah and Qila Rai Pithora; "trader's animals", says Shams-i-Siraj Afif, "being sent by the Government officials to the cities of old Delhi for a day, which had to convey one load of bricks to Firozabad".

Two years later[2], we learn from Yahya ibn Ahmad, the Sultan "brought the stream of Firozabad from the mountains of Mandati and Sirmor"........ and "formed another canal from the Khakhar (Khagar) to the fort of Sarsuti, and from thence to Harbí-Khir (Firozabad).... He brought another canal from the river Jumna, and threw it into the tank of that city.[3] "......"

Sultan Firoz Shah's new city quickly became a very popular resort of the people of Delhi, and Shams-i-Siraj relates how:

"During[4] the forty years of the reign of the excellent Sultan Firoz, the people used to go for pleasure from Delhi to Firozabad, and from Firozabad to Delhi, in such numbers, that every *kos* of the five *kos* between the two towns swarmed with people, as with ants or locusts. To accommodate this great traffic, there were public carriers who kept carriages, mules (*sutur*), and horses, which were ready for hire at a settled rate every morning after prayers, so that the traveller could make the trip as seemed to him best, and arrive at a stated time. Palankin bearers were also ready to convey passengers. The fare of a carriage was four silver *jitals* for each person; of a mule (*sutur*) six; of a horse twelve; and of a palankin half a *tanka*. There was also plenty of porters ready for employment by any one, and they earned a good livelihood. Such was the prosperity of this district."

KOTLA FIROZ SHAH, THE CITADEL.

The Kotla or Citadel which forms an irregular polygon on plan, is now in a very ruinous condition, but much has been done by the Archæological Department to secure it from further decay (Plate I). Further excavation and clearance, along the river front especially, are necessary before a fuller appreciation of its original features can be obtained, but sufficient evidence is already apparent in the several old structures it contains to serve as a fair basis on which one may construct a conjectural restoration of the citadel. The *vue d'oiseau* perspective drawing appearing in the accompanying Plate II is an attempt at such a restoration. Features irretrievably missing in the case of the Kotla ruins have been reproduced in the illustration on the analogy of similar features existing in contemporary structures of Firoz Shah still extant; *e.g.*, the fortified enclosure of Qadam Sharif, and the multidomed mosques at Begampur, Khirki, Nizampur, and in the *Muhalla* Bulbuli Khana in Shahjahanabad.

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[1] Delhi Zail Lists, Vol. II, p. 70.

[2] Elliott & Dowson, Vol. IV, pp. 8-9, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi.*

[3] Firoz Shah has been called the Father of Indian Irrigation, and his canal which brought water from Khizrabad to Safaidon, where he had a hunting ground, is now known as the Western Jumna Canal (*vide* Sanderson's *Guide to Delhi Fort*, p. 39n).

[4] Elliott & Dowson, Vol. III, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 303.

THE LAT PYRAMID.

An illustration of the Lat pyramid in the Asiatic Researches of the year 1802 (reproduced in Plate IV, Vol. VIII) shews it in a much better state of preservation than it is at present (Plate V), and depicts the low flat domes reproduced over the corner pavilions containing the ascending stairs. The top colonnade indicated in the perspective view (Plate III) is more conjectural, but evidence of the existence of a feature of this kind is apparent in the presence of a pair of broken columns still remaining *in situ* on the western edge of the roof.

The pyramid on which the Lat stands consists of 3 terraces progressively decreasing in size[1], and giving the building a stepped appearance. On each terrace is a series of vaulted cells surrounding the solid core of the structure into which the foot of the Lat of Asoka is built[2].

The Lat is a sandstone monolith 42′ 7″ in height, 35′ being polished[3] and the remainder rough; the buried portion measures some 4′ 1″, and Cunningham is of the opinion that the rough portion, standing above the level of the terrace, was buried in the ground in its original site. According to Shams-i-Siraj, one quarter of the monolith was hidden by the masonry of the pyramid originally, and Cunningham believes this to have been actually the case, owing to the existence of the stumps of the octagonal columns previously described, which would appear to have formed a cloister or open gallery round the topmost storey. The diameter of the Lat is 25·3 inches at the top and 38·3 inches at the base, the diminution being ·39″ per foot. It is said to weight 27 tons; while the colour of the sandstone is pale orange, flecked with black spots. Major Burt who examined it in 1837 gives its measurements as 35′ in length with a diameter of 3¼ feet; Franklin (As. Res.) a length of 50′; Von Orlich, 42′; William Finch, 24′; Shams-i-Siraj, 34′, and its circumference 10′. In the matter of dimensions it resembles the Allahabad pillar more than any other, but it tapers more rapidly towards the top and is, therefore, less graceful in outline (Cunningham). Tom Coryat and Whittaker (Kerr's Voyages and Travels, IX, 423) state that the pillar was of brass; the chaplain Edward Terry records that it was of marble with a Greek inscription[4] upon it, while Bishop Heber says that it was on "cast metal". Timur declared that he had never seen any monument in all the numerous lands he had traversed comparable to these monoliths.

The *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* gives the following account of the erection of the lat of Asoka in Firozabad:

"After[5] Sultan Firoz returned from his expedition against Thatta he often made excursions in the neighbourhood of Dehli. In this part of the country there

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[1] The first terrace measures 118′ square, the second 83′ square, and the third 55′ square.

[2] It is not within the province of this memoir to give an account of the Mauryan Emperor Asoka. "He erected the granite pillars which bore the edicts spreading this new religion from Kabul to Orissa." The dates of his accession and death are given by Sir John Marshall (*A Guide to Taxila*) as 273 and 232 B.C. respectively.

[3] The polish on the surface of Asokan columns and sculptures is a very characteristic feature—a technique which had its origin in Persepolis where abundant examples still survive. (See "*A Guide to Sanchi*", p. 92, by Sir John Marshall.)

[4] A translation of this inscription, which is in Pali character is given in the Appendix.

[5] Elliott & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 350, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, Shams-i-Siraj, Afif.

were two stone columns. One was in the village of Tobra, in the district (*shikk*) of Salaura and Khizrabad in the hills (*koh-payah*), the other in the vicinity of the town of Mirat. These columns had stood in those places from the days of the Pandavas, but had never attracted the attention of any of the kings who sat upon the throne of Delhi, till Sultan Firoz noticed them, and, with great exertion, brought them away. One was erected in the palace (*kushk*) at Firozabad, near the *Masjid-i-jama*, and was called the *Minara-i-Zarrin*, or Golden Column, and the other was erected in the *Kushk-i-Shikar*, or Hunting Palace, with great labour and skill. The author has read in the works of good historians that these columns of stone had been the walking sticks of the accursed Bhim a man of great stature and size. The annals of the infidels record that this Bhim used to devour a thousand *mans* of food daily, and no one could compete with him....... In his days all this part of Hind was peopled with infidels, who were continually fighting and slaying each other. Bhim was one of five brothers, but he was the most powerful of them all. He was generally engaged in tending the herds of cattle belonging to his wicked brothers, and he was accustomed to use these two stone pillars as sticks to gather the cattle together. The size of the cattle in those days was in proportion to that of other creatures. These five brothers lived near Delhi, and when Bhim died these two columns were left standing as memorials of him...............

Removal of the Minara-i-Zarrin.—Khizrabad is 90 *kos* from Dehli, in the vicinity of the hills. When the Sultan visited that district, and saw the column in the village of Tobra, he resolved to remove it to Delhi, and there erect it as a memorial of future generations. After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doab, and all soldiers, both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the cotton of the *Sembal* (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees, and after some days the pillar lay safe upon the ground. When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. The pillar was then encased from top to bottom in reeds and raw skins, so that no damage might accrue to it. A carriage, with forty-two wheels, was constructed, and ropes were attached to each wheel. Thousands of men hauled at every rope, and after great labour and difficulty the pillar was raised on to the carriage. A strong rope was fastened to each wheel, and 200 men pulled at each of these ropes. By the simultaneous exertions of so many thousand men the carriage was moved, and was brought to the banks of the Jumna. Here the Sultan came to meet it. A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5,000 and 7,000 *mans* of grain, and the least of them 2,000 *mans*. The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Firozabad, where it was landed and conveyed into the *Kushk* with infinite labour and skill.

Account of the Raising of the Obelisk.—At this time the author of this book was twelve years of age, and a pupil of the respected Mur Khan. When the pillar was brought to the palace, a building was commenced for its reception, near the Jami Masjid, and the most skilful architects and workmen were employed. It was constructed of stone and chunam, and consisted of several stages or steps (*poshish*). When a step was finished the column was raised on to it, another step was then built and the pillar was again raised, and so on in succession until it reached the intended height. On arriving at this stage, other contrivances had to be devised to place it in an erect position. Ropes of great thickness were obtained, and windlasses were placed on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar, and the other ends passed over the windlasses, which were firmly secured with many fastenings. The wheels were then turned, and the column was raised about half a *gaz*. Logs of wood and bags of cotton were then placed under it to prevent its sinking again. In this way, by degrees, and in the course of several days, the column was raised to the perpendicular. Large beams were then placed round it as shores, until quite a cage of scaffolding was formed. It was thus secured in an upright position, straight as an arrow, without the smallest deviation from the perpendicular. The square stone, before spoken of, was placed under the pillar. After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its two capitals (*do sar-i-an*) and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola, called in Hindi *kalas*. The height of the obelisk was thirty-two *gaz*; eight *gaz* was sunk in its pedestal, and twenty-four *gaz* was visible. On the base of the obelisk there were engraved several lines of writing[1] in Hindi characters. Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpreted them as stating that no one should be able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter days a Muhammadan King, named Sultan Firoz, etc., etc."

THE CONNECTING BRIDGE.

The bridge shewn in the illustration (Plate II) as connecting the pyramidal *lāt* structure in the Kotla with the mosque adjacent is a conjectural feature, and relies for its authenticity on the existence below ground in this position of a lofty vaulted tunnel, closed at both ends and lacking a *pakka* floor, which connects the foundation of these structures. The walls of this tunnel, I can only assume, served as the foundation for an upper superstructure bridging the space between the pyramid and the mosque, of which connecting feature there is a persistent local tradition. There is also a logical purpose which such a bridge could have served, since it would have provided direct and secluded communication between the *Zanana* enclosures in the mosque *mezzanine* (*infra*) and the *lāt*-pyramid.

[1] See Appendix.

THE MOSQUE.

The illustration of the *Jami* mosque, as reconstructed on the analogous examples mentioned above, may be considered to represent with some accuracy the original appearance of this structure in the time of Firoz Shah.

Little indeed of the original *masjid* now remains, but evidence of its former features exists there almost intact, and is disclosed by a careful examination of the ruins. Plate IV.

The numerous columns of the prayer chamber and side *liwans*, now long since disappeared, leave their indications in the roughly tooled stone blocks which supported them, spaced at regular intervals in the paved floor. The sub-divided bays below the *entresol* chambers reveal themselves in the little close-set *mihrab*-recesses in the walls at the north-west and south-west corners. The top roofs at these corners, as can be seen from an examination of the exposed core of the upper walls, were higher than the connecting central bays. Further evidence of the existence of these *zenana entresols* lies in the presence of the narrow connecting passage-way in the thickness of the west wall at this level, and again in the ruined remains of the staircase ascending from this *entresol* level to the roof above, and descending to the ground floor below; both stair-ways being also contained in the thickness of the north and south walls. "The[1] centre of the courtyard was marked by a deep pit which seems originally to have been a well, not improbably connected by galleries with the apartments on the river front, the water level being reached by some form of *ghat*." An attempt was made in 1914-15 to explore this pit but as the sides proceeded to tumble in, it was thought advisable to fill it up. Thus its present treatment does not purport to indicate what previously existed here. It has been suggested that the pit formed a shaft sunk to support the foundation of a domed structure erected above it—the octagonal building bearing the engraved marble slabs recording the ordinances of the emperor and referred to by the historians of the time[2]. It is possible that the well was covered by

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[1] List of Monuments, Delhi Zail, Vol. II, p. 73.

[2] Ferishta's statement is as follows :—

"He caused his regulations to be carved on the *masjid* of Firozabad of which the following may be taken as an example. It has been usual in former times to spill Mahomedan blood on trivial occasions and, for small crimes, to mutilate and torture them, by cutting off the hands and feet, and noses and ears, by putting out eyes, by pulverising the bones of the living criminals with mallets, by burning the body with fire, by crucifixion, and by nailing the hands and feet, by flaying alive, by the operation of hamstringing, and by cutting human beings to pieces. God in his infinite goodness having been pleased to confer on me the power, has inspired me with the disposition to put an end to these practices. It is my resolution, moreover, to restore, in the daily prayers offered up for the royal family, the names of all those princes, my predecessors, who have reigned over the empire of Dehly, in hopes that these prayers, being acceptable to God, may in some measure appease his wrath, and ensure his mercy towards them. It is also hereby proclaimed, that the small and vexatious taxes, under the denomination of Cotwally, etc., payable to the public servants of government, as perquisites of offices, by small traders; that licenses for the right of pasturage from shepherds, on waste lands belonging to the crown; fees from flower-sellers, fish-sellers, cotton-cleaners, silk-sellers, and cooks and the precarious and fluctuating taxes on shopkeepers and vintners, shall henceforward cease throughout the realm; for it is better to relinquish this portion of the revenue than realise it at the expense of so much distress, occasioned by the discretionary power necessarily vested in tax-gatheres and officers of authority; nor will any tax hereafter be levied contrary to the written law of the book. It has been customary to set aside one-fifth of all property taken in war for the troops, and to reserve four-fifths to the government. It is hereby ordered, that in future four-fifths shall be distributed to the troops, and one-fifth only reserved for the crown. I will on all occasions cause to be banished from the realm, persons convicted of the following crimes: Those who profess atheism, or who maintains schools of vice; all public servants convicted of corruption, as well as persons paying bribes. I have myself

some form of *chattri* as is usual in such cases, and remains of capitals found near the mouth of the well help to substantiate this theory. Franklin (*As. Res.*) who saw the building in 1793 describes it as bearing four cloisters, the domed roofs of which were supported by two hundred and sixty stone columns, each about 16′ in height. There was an octangular dome of brick and stone in the centre of the mosque and about 25′ in height.

Zia-i-Barni, eulogising the masjid, says that on Fridays the gathering of worshippers is such that there remains no room either on the lower flat or on the upper storey and the courtyard. Timur visited the building and mentions it as follows in his *Malfuzat*:—

"I started from Delhi and marched three *kos* to the Fort of Firozabad, which stands upon the banks of the Jumna and is one of the edifices erected by Sultan Firoz Shah. There I halted and went in to examine the place. I proceeded to the *Masjid-i-Jami*, where I said my prayers and offered up my praises and thanksgivings for the mercies of the Almighty."

It is recorded in Ferishta[1] that so impressed was Timur by the design of the building that he erected a great mosque at Samarqand, modelled on the same arrangement, employing masons he had taken back with him from India.

The public entrance to the *piano nobile* of the mosque was, of course, through the domed northern porch; but direct access for the *purdah-nashin* ladies was further provided by way of the stairs, mentioned above, from what (it is to be inferred) were the Royal palaces and private apartments situated on the river front to the south of the *masjid*, as illustrated in Plate II.

THE RIVER FRONT AND ROYAL PALACES.

That the royal apartments were located in this position is, I think, reasonably to be adduced both from the ruined remains of a central *mahal* here and from the analogy of the later Mughal palaces placed on the river front of the forts at Delhi and Agra, such a position being naturally the most pleasant and desirable one the citadel would afford; while the river itself would form a protection on that side against hostile land forces in the event of a siege.

The *dālāns* labelled "Zenana palace" in the illustration were, I infer, reserved for this purpose. Though now much ruined, their original division into a number

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abstained from wearing gaudy silk apparel and jewels, as an example to my subjects. I have considered it my duty to repair every public edifice of utility, constructed by my predecessors, such as caravansarais, musjids, wells, reservoirs of water, aqueducts, canals , hospitals, alms-houses, and schools and have alienated considerable portions of the revenue for their support. I have also taken pains to discover the surviving relations of all persons who suffered from the wrath of my late Lord and master, Mahomed Toghluk, and having pensioned and provided for them, have caused them to grant their full pardon and forgiveness to that Prince in the presence of the holy and learned men of his age, whose signatures and seals as witnesses are affixed to the documents the whole of which, as far as lay in my power, have been procured, and put into abox, and deposited in the vault in which Mahomed Toghluk is entombed. I have gone and sought consolation from all the most learned and holy men within my realm, and have taken care of them. Whenever my soldiers have been rendered inefficient for service, by wounds or by age, I have caused them to be pensioned on full pay for life. Two attempts have been made to poison me, but without effect." *Vide* Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, pp. 462-464.

Fanshawe thinks that this structure may have resembled the sunken octagonal chamber at the tomb of Sultan Ghari, Mahipalpur *Delhi Past and Present* (1902) p. 226.

[1] Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 494.

of small connecting chambers can readily be traced on the site; while the numerous little holes to serve as pigeon-nests are an interesting feature, as is again what seems to be the base of a *pinjra* stand for birds on the east wall. A curious decorative feature on the roof of these *dālāns* still remains in the shape of a somewhat crude attempt at a mosaic, set in squares outlined with small pebbles embedded in the concrete of which it is composed. No evidence of a second storey on these river front palaces is apparent, but, from the decorative feature above mentioned as the presence of stair ascents, the roof was evidently intended to be used in the cool of the evening; and doubtless was sheltered from the sun by large crimson *shamianas* during the day, and screened for the use of the *Zanana* by *kanāts* from the view of the public courts below.

The River wall below the Royal palace, and, in fact, practically all along this front, seems to have been treated as a low roofed terrace, with an open arcaded façade looking out on to the river, and must have been a very picturesque feature of the royal citadel (see Plate III). Narrow staircases descend at various points from this terrace to the river bed below.

INTERIOR COURTS AND GATES.

The actual ramp descending from the level of the royal private enclosure on the river front to the public quadrangle (marked *Bari-Amm* in the illustration) still remains, but the specific use to which this latter court was put can only be conjectured, it being impossible in the present state of decay of the Kotla to identify with any assurance the several palaces mentioned in the account by Shams-i-Siraj Afif cited on page 11 (*infra*).

The existence of the remains of the dual gates in the several positions indicated in the illustration afford, however, a clue to the number and relative positions of the various courts and enclosures into which the citadel was divided; and from this evidence (somewhat slender, it is true!) has been adduced the arrangement of the private courts and "grape garden" indicated in the illustration, which, it is assumed, were linked with the Royal quarters on the river front, whence private access to them was obtained.

Remains of what would appear to be the walls of a narrow dalaned way forming the back of the court, marked "Bari Amm" in the Plate II, exist; but whether the wooden reception hall indicated here as a possible feature of the Court of Public Audience ever existed is again problematical.

That the quadrangle was divided off from the garden enclosure indicated to the right of it, is, I think, to be inferred from the existence of the separate pairs of gates *in situ*, one pair of which I have assigned to each court. A little further digging here would, in all probability, do much to clear up this point.

The probability of the existence of the garden enclosure above mentioned is inferred from the presence of the little square-vaulted pavilions it contains, which would be very appropriate to such a setting.

THE *BAOLI*.

There still exist the remains of a fine circular *baoli* immediately north-west of the pyramidal *lat* structure, with a range of subterranean apartments, which

from fragments still remaining appears to have had its upper terrace enclosed by a low open stone railing. A recent partial clearance of this terrace disclosed the remains of a system of water channels which, it seems, conveyed water from a couple of elevated tanks (surmounted with conjectured *chattris* in the illustration in Plate II) across to the water pavilion situated immediately to the north (left, in illustration) of the well. Encircling the lower surrounding chambers of the well is a series of contiguous water receptacles connected by pipes and ducts with the channels on the top terrace; and it seems probable that the attractions of the *baoli* as a cool retreat in the summer heats were thus considerably heightened by the ornamental display of falling water. A large underground drain for the water overflow connected the *baoli* with the river front of the citadel.

A similar series of cool sun-sheltered chambers occur beneath the mosque where they were probably also connected with a central well referred to on page 6.

WATER TANKS AND DUCTS.

An interesting feature of the Kotla are the remains of a system of water-tanks and pipe-ducts to be found in the bay of the citadel immediately north of the main entrance court (Plate II).

THE CITADEL WALLS. MAIN ENTRANCE BAY.

The main entrance court to the west, as reconstructed from a study of the existing fragmentary remains, was surrounded by a series of low one-storeyed chambers, the roof of which served as a terrace from which the loop-holed upper wall of this bay of the Kotla could be manned. These chambers evidently served the purpose of guard-rooms, and were so arranged on plan as to convert the polygonal outline of the exterior fortified walls to a simple inner quadrangle, forming the entrance court, which was reached by way of an open passage from the front gateway. Immediately opposite this passage was an open colonnaded *dālān* (which served, perhaps, as a waiting hall for visiting retainers) flanked by dual gates leading to the inner courts of the citadel. Towards the south end of the entrance court were found fragments of a low stone railing which probably enclosed a small raised dais before the *dālān* at this end.

The court is now in too ruinous a condition to permit of an accurate detailed reconstruction of the lesser features; but the arrangement indicated in the accompanying Plate II may be considered to be substantially authenticated by the internal evidence still preserved *in situ*.

Outside the entrance gate there still remains one of the little 'sentry boxes' shewn in the perspective view, and the foundations of the other were disclosed recently during the clearance of the front. The low guard-walls before the gates shewn in the illustration are reconstructed on the analogy of a similar feature existing at Qadam Sharif; and, in fact, the remains of such a wall actually exist in the case of the smaller gate in the central wall bisecting the extreme south wing of the citadel. The smaller gate in the *fausse brail* at the main western entrance shewn in the perspective view is taken from an illustration of the gate appearing in Blagdon's *Brief History of India*, dated 1805 A.D.

DEFENCE OF THE WALLS.

The enclosing walls of the Kotla generally which have lost their crowning merlons (*kangura*) and machicolations (*damoghar*) are pierced towards the top with two rows of loopholes (*jhirna*) for the discharge of arrows. A curious point in this connection is that there is now no apparent means by which these loopholes could have been reached by the defenders inside the Kotla walls, for with the exception of the main entrance bay mentioned above, there is no masonry terrace at that level, nor are any holes left which would have served to bond the members of a possible wooden staging to the walls. Nevertheless it is probable that such a timber staging was used in this position.

It is also curious to note that in some cases (*e.g.*, the bays flanking the western central entrance bay and, again, the dividing wall of the extreme south wing of the Kotla) these loopholes are so arranged as to permit of the discharge of arrows into the interior of the courts. It has been suggested that the reason for this was that the retainers of a visitor might be kept under guard while the visitor himself was received in the inner court of the citadel; but I think this feature results merely from the fact that the outer courts[1] were a subsequent addition to the original citadel, the arrow slits in the walls of the latter not being interfered with in the extension. There is certainly a logical reason for this in the case of the west entrance bay, which, as originally constructed, formed a very narrow salient exposed to the concentrated converging fire in an attacker. And the widening of the salient to counter this disadvantage was doubtless felt to be as necessary in those days as it is in the military tactics of the 20th Century.

In the other instance quoted in parenthesis above, the fact that these southern bays were added later to the original citadel is very apparent when one examines the junction of its walls where they impinge on the bastions of the original structure; the total absence of any "bond" of the masonry between them seeming conclusive on this point. This extension to the south would also have the tactical advantage of securing this end of the vulnerable river front palaces from a flank attack.

The remains of the ascending ramp at the south end of the river front still exist, and serve as the basis of this feature as restored in the perspective drawing (Plate III). A good deal of clearance of *debris*, from this end of the river front particularly has yet to be done before a better appreciation of its features can be obtained.

A feature of the citadel are said to have been the three tunnels, one of which led to the river, and the others to the Kushak-i-Shikar on the Ridge and to the Qila Rai Pithora respectively. The tunnels which have been described by the Reverend Father Hosten, S.J. (*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1911) have yet to be discovered; and that they ever existed except as a tradition is extremely problematical.

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[1] The addition of these bays and the extension of the citadel to the south were probably effected during the troubled period following on Firoz Shah's death in 1388 A.D.; a time when any inherent weakness of the fortifications would soon have been disclosed.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF THE CITADEL.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif, in his *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* relates that "there[1] were three palaces in which Sultan Firoz used to sit publicly in State. One was the *Mahal-i-sahan-i-gilin* (the palace of the clayey court). It was also called the *Mahal-i-dikh* (*dakh*), *i.e.*, the *Mahal-i-angur*, or palace of grapes. The second was called the *Mahal-i-chhajja-i-chobin* (Palace of the wooden gallery). The third was the *Mahal-i-bari-amm*, or palace of the Public Court, and it was also called the *Sahn-i-miyanagi*, the central quadrangle. The first palace was appropriated to the reception of the *khans*, *maliks*, *amirs*, officials and distinguished literary men. The *Mahal-i-chhajja-i-chobin* was for the reception of the principal personal attendants. The palace of the *Sahn-i-miyanagi* was used for general receptions". Firoz Shah is said to have introduced the system, afterwards adopted by the Mughal emperors, of the division of the Audience or Darbar into three classes according to the rank of those present[2].

FIROZABAD, THE ROYAL RETREAT.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif goes on to say that "Sultan Firoz had given up residing in Dehli, and stayed at Firozabad". Delhi, it would seem, however, still remained the capital of the kingdom, and continued to be used for State functions, for "when[3] it was necessary to hold a court he left his devotions and proceeded to the capital". To use Lane Poole's simile, "Firozabad[4] became the Windsor of his London".

FEATURES OF THE PALACES.

The Sultan, we are told, was possessed of a penchant for history and, in despair of getting an adequate historical record written of his own reign, caused[5] the following lines of his own composition (*az zabán-i khwesh*), to be inscribed in letters of gold on the walls (*ímárat*) of the Kushk-i Shikár-rav[6], and on the domes of the Kushk-i nuzúl, and the walls (*ímárat*) of the minarets of stone which are within the Kushk-i Shikár-rav at Firozabad:—

"I made a great hunt of elephants, and I captured so many:

"I performed many glorious deeds; and all this I have done:

"That in the world and among men; in the earth and among mankind, these verses

"May stand as a memorial to men of intelligence, and that the people of the world, and the wise men of the age, may follow the example." Which literary excursion it may be remarked, does not reveal the Sultan's pen to have been any mightier than was his sword in his vacillating campaigns undertaken in Bengal and Thatta.

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1 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 343.

2 *List of Monuments, Delhi Zail*, Vol. II, p. 71.

3 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 343.

4 *Mediæval India under Muhammadan rule*, p. 144.

5 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 316.

6 This palace, it seems, was the one on the "Ridge".

Firoz adopted the practice." "The[1] court to which these pampered servants ministered was luxurious but orderly. It is true the Sultan was somewhat addicted to wine, and on one occasion, in the midst of the Bengal campaign, the general Tatar Khan discovered his sovereign in an undignified position, lying half-dressed on his couch, with a mysterious sheet concealing something under the bed. Tatar Khan saw what was the matter, and both were speechless with surprise. At last he began a little sermon on the wickedness of indulgence at such a time of anxiety. The Sultan inquired what he meant, and asked innocently if anything untoward had happened. The Khan pointed to the hidden wine cups under the bed and looked solemn. Firoz said he liked a modest drop now and then to moisten his throat, but Tatar was not to be mollified. Then the Sultan swore that he would drink no more wine whilst the Khan was with the army. So the general thanked God and went out. But Firoz soon afterwards bethought him that the Khan was much needed at the other end of the kingdom, and sent him there in all haste. Several times the Sultan was lectured by holy men on his weakness, but he worked off his excesses by vigorous hunting, to which he was enthusiastically devoted, and the vice cannot have gone to such lengths as to interfere with affairs of state—at least so long as the able Hindu wazir[2] was there to control them."

"The testimony of all contemporary chroniclers shows that Firoz was adored by the people. It was not only that he reformed abuses, checked extortion, reduced taxation, increased irrigation, and enlarged the markets and opportunities of labour: he was 'a father to his people', took care of the needy and unemployed, refused to dismiss aged officials but let their sons act for them,—'the veteran', he said, 'may thus stay at home in comfort, whilst the young ride forth in their strength': he contrived the marriages of poor Muslims who could not otherwise afford the usual dowries, and provided state hospitals for the sick of all classes, native and foreign"..... "A devout Muslim, he kept the fasts and feasts and public prayers, and in the weekly litany the names of his great predecessors were commemorated as well as his own and that of the caliph who had sanctioned his authority. When an old man he went on pilgrimage to the shrine of the legendary hero Salar Mas'ud at Bahraich, and humbly shaved as an act of piety. He never did anything without consulting the Koran, and even selected a governor in accordance with a *fal* or lucky omen in the sacred book. Making every allowance for the exaggeration of the court chronicler, his panegyric, written after the Sultan's death, is probably not misplaced: 'Under Firoz all men, high and low, bond and free, lived happily and free from care. The court was splendid. Things were plentiful and cheap.[3] Nothing untoward happened during his reign. No village remained waste, no land uncultivated" ....."No king since Nasir-ad-din (Khilji) had so appealed to the affections of his subjects; 'none had had shown himself so just, and merciful, so kind and

[1] *Mediæval India under Muhammadan Rule* by Stanley Lane Poole, pp. 148, 149-150, 151.

[2] Makbul Khan, a converted Hindu named Kutta of Telingane, who became a slave under Muhammad Tughlaq, and was raised to the office of Wazir by Sultan Firoz in the beginning of the reign.

[3] Some prices may be quoted: wheat 3*d*. (8 *jitals*) the quarter (*man*); barley 1½*d*., grain 1½*d*. the quarter; sugar 1*d*. to 1½*d*. the *sir* or ¾ lb.

religious—or such a builder'. In the brief and modest memoirs which the Sultan left, he recites some of the successful efforts he made to repress irreligion and wickedness, and to restore good Government, just law, kindness, and generosity to the people, in the place of torture and bloodshed and oppression. 'Through the mercy which God has shown to me,' he says, 'these cruelties and terrors have been changed to tenderness, kindness, and compassion.......I thank the All-Bountiful God for the many and various blessings He has bestowed upon me ".

EVENTS AT THE CITADEL.

In spite of the Sultan's large-hearted beneficence towards his subjects in general, he was rigid in his adherence to the tenets of the orthodox *Sunni* creed, and Brahman "infidel" and *Shiah* dissenter alike felt the weight of the Sultan's hand. We read of a Brahmin, "who persisted in publicly worshipping idols in his house[1]", being burnt on a pile of faggots in front of the Royal palace at Firozabad; which palace was also the scene of a deputation of Brahmins who protested, but unsuccessfully, against the imposition of the *Jizya* poll tax levied on them as "the very keys of the chamber of idolatory" by the Sultan "from which they had been held excused in former reigns". And in the Sultan's own memoirs he writes "The[2] sect of Shiah's, also called Rawafiz, had endeavoured to make proselytes. They wrote treatises and books, and gave instructions and lectures upon the tenets of their sect, and traduced and reviled the first chiefs of our religion (on whom the peace of God!). I seized them all and I convicted them of their errors and perversions. On the most zealous I inflicted punishment (*siyásat*), and the rest I visited with censure (*tázír*) and threats (*tahdíd*) of public punishment (*tashhír-i-zijr*). Their books I burnt in public, and so by the grace of God the influence of this sect was entirely suppressed."

THE SULTAN'S GARDENS.

"Sultan[3] Firoz had a great liking for the laying out of gardens which he took pains to embellish. He formed 1,200 gardens in the vicinity of Delhi. All gardens received abundant proofs of his care, and he restored thirty gardens which had been commenced by Alau-d-Din (Khilji)....In every garden there were white and black grapes of seven varieties. They were sold at the rate of one *jital* per *seer*". This hobby of the Sultan was not without its remunerative side, for "of the various articles grown in the gardens, the Government share of the produce amounted to 80,000[4] *tankas*, without taking into account the dues of the owners and gardeners", which it seems were paid in kind.

THE SULTAN'S BUILDINGS.

"Sultan[5] Firoz excelled all his predecessors on the throne of Delhi in the erection of buildings, indeed no monarch of any country surpassed him. He

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[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 365.
[2] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Futuhat-i-Firozshahi*, p. 377.
[3] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 345.
[4] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 346.
[5] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* pp. 354-7.

built cities, forts, palaces, *bands*, mosques and tombs, in great numbers. Of cities, there were Hissar Firozah and Fath-abad, of which the author has given an account in a previous chapter, Firozabad, Firozabad Harni Khira, Tughlikpur-i Kasna, Tughlikpur-i Muluk-i Kamut, and Jaunpur, besides sundry other places and forts which he repaired and strengthened. His palaces (*kushk*) were those of Firoz, Nuzul, Mahandwari, Hissar Firozah, Fathabad, Jaunpur, Shikar, Band-i Fath Khan and Salaura. *Bands:* Fath Khan, Malcha (into which he threw a body of fresh water, *ab-i-zamzam*), Mahpalpur, Shukr Khan, Salaura, Wazirabad and other similar strong and substantial *bands*. He also built monasteries and inns for the accommodation of travellers. One hundred and twenty *khankahs* (monasteries) were built in Delhi and Firozabad for the accommodation of the people of God, in which travellers from all directions were receivable as guests for three days. These one hundred and twenty buildings were full of guests on all the three hundred and sixty days of the year. Superintendents and officers of the Sunni persuasion were appointed to these *khankahs*, and the funds for their expenses were furnished from the public Treasury.

HIS CHIEF ARCHITECTS.

Malik Ghazi Shahna was the chief architect, and was very efficient; he held the gold staff (of office). 'Abdul Hakk, otherwise Jahir Sundhar (was deputy, and) held the golden axe. A clever and qualified superintendent was appointed over every class of artisans.

The Sultan also repaired the tombs of former kings. It is a custom among kings while they are on the throne to appropriate villages and lands to religious men in order to provide means for the maintenance and repair of their tombs. But these endowments had all been destroyed, and the grantees, being divested of them, were reduced to distress. The Sultan carefully repaired all the tombs and restored the lands and villages after bringing into cultivation such as had been laid waste. He also sought out and restored the Superintendents and officers of these endowments who had been driven out of them..........The financial officer (*diwan-i wizárat*) examined the plan of every proposed building, and made provision so that the work should not be stopped for want of funds. The necessary money was issued from the royal treasury to the managers of the building, and then the work was begun. Thus it was that so many buildings of different kinds were erected in the reign of Firozshah".

THE ROYAL ESTABLISHMENTS AND DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS.

"Sultan Firoz had thirty-six royal establishments, for which enormous supplies of articles were collected....and the annual outlay on which was very large. Some of them were in receipt of a regular payment (*rayati*): others had no fixed income (*ghair rayati*). Thus among the *rayati* establishments there were the elephant, horse, and camel stables, the kitchen, the butlery, the candle department, the dog-kennels, the water-cooling department and other similar

establishments. These received a regular monthly allowance of one *lac* and sixty thousand *tankas* for their expenses, in addition to which there was the cost of their furniture,. . . . .

"In the establishments which received no regular allowance, such as the wardrobe, the *alam-khana* or insignia, the carpet stores, and the like, new goods were procured every year according to orders given. In the winter season six lacs of *tankas* were expended on the wardrobe, besides the outlay for the spring and summer, 80,000 *tankas* were expended on the *alam-khana* in the purchase of articles, besides the salaries of the accountants and wages of the work-people. About two lacs of *tankas* were expended in the carpet department. Each of these establishments was under the charge of a *khan* or malik of high rank ;". . . . "The royal stables were in five different places, and, besides these, some thousands of horses grazed in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and were called *sih-panj*. The camel establishment was distinct, and was in the district of Dublahan, where whole villages were appropriated to them and their keepers. Their numbers increased every year, because the great feudatories, when they came to Court, brought camels of all sorts among their presents to the throne."

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE KOTLA.

The following is a brief relation of events connected with the subsequent history of the Kotla from the retirement of its founder from affairs of State to its probable destruction in 1540 A.D. at the hands of the Afghan emperor Sher Shah Sur.

"The Sultan now grew old and feeble, for his age was nearly ninety years (1382 A.D.) and Khan-i-Jahan,[1] the wazir, exercised unbounded authority. . . . . . All the affairs of State were in his hands. At length it came to this, that whatever Khan-i-Jahan said, the Sultan used to do".

"One day the *wazir* represented to the Sultan that Prince Muhammad Khan. . . . . was on the point of raising a rebellion", whereupon the Sultan gave the order for his arrest. The Prince, however, discreetly remained away from court, and, in alarm at his position, gave his own version of affairs to his father, on which the *wazir* was dismissed from office.

The Prince, "gathering the slaves of Sultan Firoz, the *amirs*, and other people of the city" about him, attacked the house of Khan-i-Jahan, who was wounded and fled into Mewat, and his house was plundered.

THE SULTAN RETIRES IN FAVOUR OF HIS SON MUHAMMAD KHAN.

"The Sultan. . . . . .of necessity, gave over to the Prince the reins of government, with all the horses and elephants, wealth and state. . . . . .He conferred

[1] Named Juna Shah. He was the son of the former wazir Makbul Khan. The two wazirs, father and son, between them virtually ruled the kingdom during the whole of the reign, the one for 18, the other for 20 years, so great was the reliance reposed in them by the Sultan.

Juna Shah is said to have been responsible for the erection of several of the principal mosques built in Delhi, among which are numbered those named on page 16 (*supra*).

(Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 369 *et seq.*)

upon him the title of Nasiru-d-din Muhammad Shah, and then retired to his house to serve his God. In the cities, throughout the dominions, the *khutba* was repeated in the names of the two sovereigns, and Muhammad Khan took his seat upon the throne in the Pàlace of Jahanuma (on the "Ridge"). The deposed wazir was soon afterwards seized and beheaded.

The Prince "who was young and inexperienced, gave himself up to pleasure.....and at length great irregularities arose in the administration. The slaves of the late government of Firoz Shah, of whom there were about a *lakh* in Delhi and Firozabad, abandoned the Prince and joined themselves with the late sovereign". Hence arose contention and strife,[1] during which the Prince attacked and routed this following, who "fled to the palace and took refuge with the Sultan. Fighting went on for two days, when the insurgents brought out the old Sultan from the Palace", which caused the adherents of the Prince to abandon him and rejoin their old master. Finding he could no longer maintain the struggle, the Prince fled to the mountains of Sirmor.

FLIGHT OF MUHAMMAD KHAN AND HIS SUPERSESSION BY SULTAN FIROZ'S GRANDSON, TUGHLAQ SHAH.

The Sultan then appointed Prince Tughlaq Shah his grandson, son of Fath Khan, to be his heir, and delivered all the affairs of government over to him."[2]

DEATH OF FIROZSHAH.

"On the[3] 18th Ramzan 790 H (26th September 1388 A.D.) Sultan Firoz died, worn out with weakness", whereupon Prince Tughlaq Shah "took his seat upon the throne in the palace of Firozabad"; and a force was then sent against Prince Muhammad Khan in his retreat in the mountains of Sirmor.

The new Sultan was, however, also "young and inexperienced, and gave himself up to wine and pleasure". Government was neglected and several of the Amirs and slaves raised a revolt. "Malik Mubarak Kabri (an adherent of the Sultan) was despatched with the sword in the palace of Firozabad as he was retreating through the door. A great outcry thereupon arose in the palace, and the Sultan hearing it escaped through the door opening on to the Jamna" but was overtaken and killed at the ford near the Ridge. The reign[4] of Sultan Tughlaq Shah had lasted 6 months and 18 days.

DEATH OF HIS SUCCESSOR TUGHLAQ SHAH AND ENTHRONEMENT OF MUHAMMAD KHAN AT SAMANA.

On the news reaching Prince Muhammad Khan at Nagarkot he mounted the throne at Samana "for the second time", and with an assemblage of 20,000 horse and an innumerable host of foot marched to Delhi, where, however, the

[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 17.
[2] *Ibidem.*
[3] *Ibidem.*
[4] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 21.

slaves of the late Sultan opposed him under Abu Bakr Shah (grandson of Sultan Firoz). (*Vide. Ferishta,* Briggs, Vol. I. p. 468).

"On[1] the 25th Rabiu-l-Akhir 791 (23rd April 1389) Sultan Muhammad took up his position at the palace of Jahannuma (on the Ridge) and Abu Bakr with his adherents and forces, was at Firozabad. On the 2nd Jumada-l awwal, the adherents of Abu Bakr, having taken the streets and walls of Firozabad, gave battle to the forces of the new Sultan. On that very day Bahadur Nahir came into the city with a party of his followers; and Abu Bakr Shah, being emboldened by his arrival, marched on the following day into Firozabad with his horse and foot. The battle began, and by the decree of God, Sultan Muhammad was defeated. He fled towards his own territories". Malik[2] Sarwar (a slave of Firoz Shah, and afterwards the founder of the Provincial dynasty of Sharqi kings at Jaunpur) was then made wazir.

In the same year Sultan Muhammad again marched against Delhi, but was met and defeated by Abu Bakr again; and we read that "In consequence of the contention among the Mussalmans for the throne, the Hindu infidels gathered strength and gave up paying the Jizya poll tax and tribute".

In 1390 A.D. Sultan Muhammad yet again raided the city of Delhi, entering through the Badaun Gate, and took up his quarters at the Humayun Palace. "All the people of the city, high and low, and the *bazar* people, joined him;" but the Sultan found it advisable to flee through a back door in the palace on news of his antagonist Abu Bakr's approach. The old Firoz Shahi slaves, however, turned against Abu Bakr, who fled, and on their invitation Sultan Muhammad "entered the city and took his seat on the throne in the Palace of Firozabad".

DEATH OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD.

The somewhat tactless action of the Sultan in taking away the state elephants from the charge of the Firozshahi slaves excited discontent among them; "so they fled in the night" and joined Abu[3] Bakr Shah, who was, however, defeated in a battle by a force sent against him by the Sultan, captured, and sent a prisoner to Mirat, where he died. Some 3 years afterwards the Sultan Muhammad Shah died (Jan. 1394 A.D.) having reigned 6 years[4] and 7 months.

The late Sultan's second son, Humayun Khan, then ascended the throne under the title Sultan Alau-d-Din Sikandar Shah—but died 1 month 16 days afterwards.

SUCCESSION OF PRINCE MAHMUD AT JAHANPANAH.

On the death of Sultan Alau-d-Din "Prince Mahmud was placed upon the throne in the Humayun palace (in Jahanpanah) and the title Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud Shah was given[5] to him".

[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarkih-i-Mubarakshahi,* p. 21.
[2] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi,* p. 22.
[3] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi,* p. 25.
[4] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi,* p. 27.
[5] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi,* p. 28.

REBELLION AND RIVAL SOVEREIGNTY OF HIS COUSIN NASRAT SHAH AT FIROZABAD.

Early in his reign, however, certain disaffected *amirs*, headed by one Sadat Khan, rebelled and raised Nasrat Khan, another grandson of Firoz Shah, to the throne, "in the palace of Firozabad under the title of Nasiru-d-Din Nasrat Shah. But he was a mere puppet, and all the direction of affairs was in the hands of Sadat Khan", who was, however, soon afterwards expelled by the old Firozashahi slaves, and killed. Thus "in Delhi and Firozabad there were two kings",[1] and "fights came to be daily occurrences between the two cities".

"The districts in the Doab and fiefs of Sambhal, Panipat, Jhajhar and Rohtak were in the possession of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din, while Sultan Mahmud held no place except the forts of old Delhi and Siri".

"In the month of Shawal 800 H (1397 A.D.) the *wazir*, Ikbal Khan joined himself to Sultan Nasiru-d-Din. He placed the Sultan upon an elephant, and conducted him into Jahanpanah.......Sultan Mahmud was shut up in Old Delhi.".

"On the third day Ikbal Khan treacherously attacked the Sultan Nasiru-d-Din, who, being unable to resist, fled with a small party of men and elephants to Firozabad", whence he escaped across the Jamna with his family and dependants.

"Firozabad then came into the possession of Ikbal[2] Khan, who kept the Sultan Mahmud in his power as a puppet and himself directed all matters of Government.[3]"

Such were the conditions of affairs at Delhi immediately prior to Timur's raid.

TIMUR'S INVASION.

"In the[4] month of Safar 801 H. (Oct. 1398 A.D.) intelligence came that Amir Timur, King of Khurasan had attacked Talina, and was staying at Multan, and that he had put to the sword all the soldiers of Sarang Khan, who had been taken prisoner by Pir Muhammad (Timur's son). This intelligence filled Ikbal Khan (the wazir) with dread and anxiety. Amir Timur continuing his march, besieged Bhatnir, took the Rai Khul Chain prisoner, and put the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to Samana, and many inhabitants of Dibalpur, Ajodhan, and Sarsuti fled in terror to Delhi. Many prisoners were taken and most of them received the glory of martyrdom. Then he crossed over the Jumna into the Doab, and ravaged the greater part of the country. He made a halt at the town of Loni, and there he put to the sword all the prisoners whom he had taken between the rivers Sind and Ganges, in all 50,000 men, more or less: God knows the truth. Such was the terror inspired by him, that Musulmans and Hindus fled before him, some to the mountains, some to the

[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 31 (footnote 1, *Tabkat-i-Akbari*).
[2] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 33, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*.
[3] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 34, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*.
[4] *Ibidem*, pp. 34, 35 and 36.

deserts, some to the waves of the rivers, and some to Delhi. In Jumada-l awwal, having crossed the Jumna, he halted at Firozabad, and next day he took up his position at the top of the Hauz-i Khas. Ikbal Khan (the *wazir*) came out with his elephants, and gave battle to Amir Timur in the *maidan*. At the first charge, he was defeated by the warriors of Timur, and escaped through a thousand difficulties with his elephhants into the city. But as they retreated into the city, many men were crushed under their foot and died, and heaps of dead were left. When night came on, Ikbal Khan and Sultan Mahmud, leaving their wives and children behind, came out of the city. The Sultan fled to Gujrat, and Ikbal Khan crossed the river Jamna and went to Baran. Next day Amir Timur granted quarter to the city, and took the ransom money[1] from the inhabitants. On the fourth day he gave orders that all the people in the city should be made prisoners, and this was done ".

Timur in his memoirs (*Malfuzat-i-Timuri*) speaks of "a plundering excursion against the palace of Jahannuma, a fine building erected by Sultan Firoz Shah on the top of a hill by the banks of the Jamna ", which is situated 5 miles from Delhi. It was from this hill that Timur reconnoitred the ground on which to join battle with the Delhi forces ; and he mentions that he encamped before the battle in a position opposite to Jahannuma. It was at this camp that the 100,000 "infidels " captured on his way to Delhi were massacred in cold blood. Such was the orgy of slaughter, that Timur gloatingly tells of a "Maulana[2] Nasiru-d-din Umar, a counsellor and a man of learning, who, in all his life had never killed a sparrow, now in execution of my order slew with his sword fifteen idolatrous Hindus who were his captives ".

"After[3] the defeat of Sultan Mahmud at the *Maidan* in the neighbourhood of Hauz Khas, Timur marched towards the fort (Jahanpanah) and carefully reconnoitred its towers and walls, and returned to the side of Hauz Khas. This is a reservoir which was constructed by Sultan Firoz Shah and is faced all-round with stone and cement (gatch). Each side of that reservoir is more than a bow shot long, and there are buildings placed around it. This tank is filled by the rains in the rainy season, and it supplies the people of the city with water throughout the year. The tomb of Sultan Firozshah stands on its bank. When I had pitched my camp here, the princes and *amirs* and *nuyans*, and all the generals and officers, came to wait upon me to pay their respects and offer their congratulations on this great victory ". The Delhi Sultan and his wazir had escaped "through the Hauz Rani and Baraka gates of Jahanpanah, both of which are to the south of the Jahanpanah[4] ". Timur's camp at Hauz Khas was to the east.

Timur goes on to recount that he "mounted his horse and rode towards the gate of the *maidan* (This gate[5] is one of the gates of Jahanpanah and opens towards Hauz (Khas). I alighted at the Idgah, a lofty and extensive building,

[1] It was out of the collection of this ransom that the massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi arose.

[2] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, p. 436.

[3] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, p. 441.

[4] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Zafarnama*, p. 501.

[5] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Zafarnama*, p. 502.

and I gave orders for my quarters to be moved there, and for my throne to be set up in the Idgah.[1] I took my seat on the Throne and held a court". Timur speaks of 120 enormous elephants and rhinoceroses which were brought out of the fort (Jahanpanah) and paraded before him. "As the elephants passed me I was greatly amused to see the tricks which their drivers[2] had taught them. Every elephant at the sign of the driver bowed his head to the ground, made his obeisance, and uttered a cry. At the direction of their drivers they picked up any object from the ground with their trunks and placed it in their drivers hands, or put it into their mouths and kept it. When I saw these mighty animals so well trained and so obedient to weak men, I was greatly astonished, and I ordered that they should be sent to Turan and Iran, to Fars, and Azur, and Rum, so that the princes and nobles throughout my dominions might see these animals".

In alluding to the several causes which led to the sack of Delhi and the wholesale massacre of its inhabitants, Timur mentions a "palace of Hazar Situn (thousand columns) which Malik Juna (Muhammad Tughlaq) built in the fort called Jahanpanah"; and in lamenting this event, Timur writes: "By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Delhi by name Siri, Jahanpanah, and Old Delhi had been plundered". It is noteworthy that Firozabad is not specifically included in this catalogue, and, it is to be assumed, escaped the general pillage.

"When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Delhi, I took a ride round the cities. Siri is a round city. Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications built of stone and brick and are very strong. Old Delhi has also a similar strong fort, but it is larger than Siri".

"From the fort of Siri to that of Old Delhi, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall built of stone and cement. The part called Jahanpanah is situated in the midst of the inhabited city (Shahr-i-abadan). The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates. Jahanpanah has thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east, and six on the north side bearing towards the west. Siri has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahanpanah. The fortifications of old Delhi have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and some towards the interior of the city. When I was tired of examining the city I went into the Masjid-i-Jami[3]".

"I had[4] been in Delhi fifteen days, which time I passed in pleasure and enjoyment, holding royal Courts and giving great feasts. I then reflected that I had come to Hindustan to war against infidels......Having made these reflections I again drew my sword to wage a religious war. I started from Delhi and marched three *kos* to the fort of Firozabad, which stands on the banks of the Jamna, and is one of the edifices erected by Sultan Firozashah. I halted there and went in to examine the palace. I proceeded to the Masjid-i-Jami, where I said my prayers and offered up my praises and thanksgivings for the mercies

[1] This idgah is not to be confused with the Idgah of Kharera which was built after Timur's departure in 1404-5 A. D. by Iqbal Khan; although it was probably in the vicinity of this latter. *List of Monuments Mahrauli Zail*, Vol. III, p. 164.

[2] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, p. 444.

[3] Elliot and Dowson, Vol III, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, pp. 447-48.

[4] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, p. 448.

of the Almighty. Afterwards I again mounted and proceeded to pitch my camp near the palace of Jahannuma (on the Ridge). Here Bahadur Nahir sent to me as a tribute two white parrots which could talk well and pleasantly. The envoys presented them to me, and told me that these two parrots had belonged to Sultan Tughlaq Shah, and that they had lived at the courts of the Sultans ever since. The sight of these parrots and the sound of their voices gave me great satisfaction, so I gave directions that they should be brought before me in their cages every day that I might listen to their talk[1]".

Timur says "I had determined to build a Masjid-i-Jami in Samarqand, the seat of my empire, which should be without rival in any country; so I ordered that all builders and stone masons (among the artisans and mechanics enslaved during the sack of Delhi) should be set apart for my own special service".

"From Delhi, Timur returned by the skirt of the hills". "Then he marched through Kabul to his own territories, and arrived at his capital, Samarqand", after ravaging the Hindu shrines at Meerut and Hardwar and plundering Lahore *en route*.

"After[2] the departure of Timur, the neighbourhood of Delhi, and all those territories over which his armies had passed, were visited with pestilence (*waba*) and famine. Many died of the sickness, and many perished with hunger, and for two months Delhi was desolate".

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.

"In the month of Rajab, 801 (March, 1399 A.D.), Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Nasrat Shah who had fled from the malevolence of Ikbal Khan into the Doab advanced with a small force to Mirat. The people of the Doab who had obtained deliverance from the hands of the Mughals began to rally and he (Nasrat Shah) entered Firozabad with about 2,000 horse. Delhi although ruined came into his power".

The *wazir*, however, had the good fortune to capture a force of elephants sent against him by the Sultan "and his power increased daily while Sultan Nasiru-d-Din grew weaker and weaker".

"Delhi fell into the power of Iqbal Khan, and he took up his abode in the fort of Siri", which in a short time became repopulated. "The district of the Doab and the fiefs in the neighbourhood of the capital came into the possession of Iqbal Khan; but the territories in general remained in the possession of the Amirs and Maliks who held them". "In the[3] year 804 H. (1401) Sultan Mahmud (Cousin of Nasrat Shah) left the Khitta of Dhar and proceeded to Delhi. Iqbal Khan came forth to give him a formal reception, and the Sultan went to the Humayun palace at Jahanpanah. But the reins of Government were in the hands of Iqbal Khan and so hatred sprang up between him and the Sultan". Iqbal Khan after an ineffectual seige of the Sultan Mahmud, who had taken up his quarters, in Kanaui, returned to Delhi, and was shortly afterwards defeated

[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, p. 449.
[2] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 36.
[3] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 38.

and slain in battle near Ajodhan in November 1405 by Khizr Khan, Viceroy at Multan, who sided with Timur on his invasion and subsequently became the first ruler of the Sayyid dynasty. A deputation was then sent to Sultan Mahmud urging him to take the Government and "in the month of Jamada-i-Akhir the Sultan left Kanauj with a small force and proceeded to the capital, where he assumed the sovereignty". Ikhtiyar Khan who had been prominent in the restoration of the Sultan "received the gift of the palace of Firozabad[1]".

"Khizr Khan, who had defeated the late Wazir Iqbal Khan in the battle above referred to, subsequently directed his forces against the Sultan, and proceeded to Delhi and besieged it; Sultan Mahmud being in the fort of Siri and Ikhtiyar Khan in the Palace of Firozabad".

Later Khizr Khan, continuing his plundering excursions, again "proceeded to Delhi and invested the fort of Siri. Sultan Mahmud was in the Fort, and, Ikhtiyar Khan held the palace of Firozabad for him. The contest went on till Ikhtiyar Khan joined Khizr Khan, who then moved from before Siri and took possession of the fort of Firozabad. Thus he became master of the fief of the Doab and the neighbourhood of the Capital". Owing to a shortage of grain and forage, however, Khizr Khan returned to Firozpur, and in the same year the Sultan Mahmud died after a reign of 20 years 2 months".

Khizr Khan[2], "by descent a Sayyid", then definitely took over the Government as Viceroy of the Amir Timur, and "on the 30th May 1414 A.D. entered the fort of Siri, and posted his army in the palace of Sultan Mahmud". His successor Mubarak Shah appears to have resided, when at the capital, either in the "palace[3] of Delhi" or in that at Siri, before he eventually determined to build a city on the banks of the Jamna, where on the 17th Rabiu-l-awwal 837 H. (31st October 1433) he laid the foundation of a city which he called Mubarakabad.[4] "He devoted much time and care in the direction of this building". The Sultan was however assassinated during a visit to inspect the progress of the works.

The two succeeding rulers of the Sayyid dynasty, Muhammad Shah and his son Alau-d-Din, appear to have resided at Badaun and Delhi[5] at which latter city (in 1448 A.D.) the Afghan Malik Bahlol Lodi "ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Bahlol[6]," and we obtain no further reference to Kotla Firozshah either as a residence of the Sultan or of any of his Amirs. The palace at Delhi, in its turn, gave place in the succeeding reign of Sikandar Lodi to "Agra, where the king himself generally dwelt[7]," and Delhi took second place till Sher Shah (Sur) left Agra for Delhi in the year 947 H. (1540) and, actuated by unworthy feelings, he destroyed the fort of Alau-d-Din which stood at Siri conspicuous for its strength and loftiness, and built on the bank of the Jun[8] (Jamna) between Firoza-

[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 41.
[2] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 46.
[3] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, pp. 61, 66.
[4] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 78.
[5] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 87.
[6] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 88.
[7] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 446-450.
[8] The correct reading is Jawan, an easy corruption from Jaman the Persianised form of Jamuna [M.H.K.]

bad and Kilukhari in the vicinity of Indrapat, a new city about 2 or 3 *kos* distant from the old one. The name of this fort he called Shergarh, and the walls of it were of great breadth, length and height, but on account of the shortness of his reign he did not live to complete[1] it.

Though the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* of Abdulla makes no specific mention of Firozabad in this connection it is only to be expected that it, too, served as a quarry for Sher Shah's new city: and its ruins were doubtless again exploited by the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan when he built his new city Shahjahanabad in 1648 A.D.

[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 477.

APPENDIX.

The Topra pillar now set up on the roof of the three storied citadel of Kotla Firoz Shah at Delhi contains seven edicts of Asoka, besides several minor inscriptions of pilgrims and travellers.

The first six edicts and part of the seventh edict are inscribed on the four sides of the pillar; while the remaining lines of the seventh edict run all around the pillar. A translation of the edicts is reproduced below from Dr. Hultzsch's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. I:—

First Pillar edict.

North face of pillar.

Translation.

"King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years. (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) is difficult to secure without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy. But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day and will progress still (more). And my agents, also, both the high ones and the low ones, and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up fickle (persons). In the same way the *Mahāmātras* of the borderers also (are acting). For (their) instruction (is) this, *viz.*, to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure according to morality (and) to guard (their speech) according to morality.

Second Pillar edict.

North face of pillar.

Translation.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?

(It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity. The gift of spiritual insight also has been bestowed by me in many ways. On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me (even) to the boon of life. And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me. For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (*viz.*), in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration. And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.

Third Pillar edict.

North face of pillar.

Translation.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking); 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.' They do not at all regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.' Now this is indeed difficult to recognize. But indeed this ought to be regarded thus: 'These (passions), *viz.*, fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful. Let me not ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions). The following

ought to be specially regarded; 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action) to my (happiness) in the other (world).

FOURTH PILLAR EDICT.

West face of pillar.

Translation.

King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years. My *Lajukas* are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.

I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to their discretion in order that the *Lajukas* should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them). They will know how to cause pleasure and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world). The *Lajukas* also must obey me. They will also obey the agents who know (my) wishes. And these (agents) will also exhort those (people), in order that the *Lajukas* may be able to please me. For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent nurse, (thinking); 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the *Lajukas* were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country people. In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed, for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the *Lajukas*. For the following is to be desired, (*viz.*), that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishment. And my order (reaches) even so far (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed, (and) who have been condemned to death. (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade those (*Lajukas*) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them) they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world). For my desire is this, that even when the time (of respite) has expired, they should attain (happiness) in the other (world). And various moral practices, self control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

FIFTH PILLAR EDICT.

South face of pillar.

Translation.

King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(When I had been) anointed twenty-six years the following animals were declared, by me inviolable, *viz.*, parrots, mainas, the *aruṇa*, the ruddy geese, wild geese, the *nandīmukha*, the *gelāṭa*, bats, green-ants, terrapins, bonely fish, the *Vedaveyaka*, the *Gaṅgā-pupuṭaka*, skate-fish, tortoises and porcupines, squirrels, the *sṛimara*, bulls set at liberty, iguanas, the rhinoceros, white doves, domestic doves (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible. Those (she-goats), ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old. Cocks must not be caponed. Husks containing living animals must not be burnt. Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings). Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals. Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsis, (and) on the Tishyā full-moon during three days (*viz.*), the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*) and invariably on every fast day. And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant park (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed. On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight, on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmāsis (and) on festivals, bulls must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams,

boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise) must not be castrated (then). On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmāsis, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsi, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded. Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).

SIXTH PILLAR EDICT.

East face of pillar.

Translation.

King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects. (Thinking): 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured),' I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds. But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty), *viz.*, visiting (the people) personally. (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

SEVENTH PILLAR EDICT.

East face of pillar.

Translation.

King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality. Concerning this, King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. The following occurred to me. On one hand, in times past, kings had this desire that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality. How then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)? How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality? How could I elevate them by the promotion of morality? Concerning this, King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. The following occurred to me. I shall issue proclamations on morality, (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).

Round the pillar.

Translation.

Hearing this men will conform to (*it*), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality. For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), (in order that those agents) (of mine) too, who are occupied with many people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail. The *Lajukas* also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men—these two were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'. Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. Having in view this very (matter), I have set up pillars of morality, appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued (proclamations) on morality. King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. On the roads banyan trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men, (and) mango-groves were caused to be planted. And (at intervals) of eight *Kos* wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water) were caused to be built. Numerous drinking places were caused to be established by me, here and there for the enjoyment of cattle and men. (But) this so called enjoyment (is) (of little consequence). For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself. But by me this has been done

for the following purpose: that they might conform to that practice of morality. Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. Those my *Mahāmātras* of morality too are occupied with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects. Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves with the affairs of the *Saṁgha*; likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ājīvikas; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations). But my *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects. King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem (they are reporting) in diverse ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality. For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), *viz.*, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men. King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming. Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants. King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (*viz.*), by moral restrictions and by conversion. But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable. But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me. By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals. Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall) shine, and in order that (men) may conform to it. For if one conforms to this, (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained. This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-seven years. Concerning this Devānāṁpriya says. This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that this may be of long duration."

Besides the edicts, there are three short inscriptions recording the victories of Chāhamāna Vīsaladēva, Vigraharāja, king of Śākambarī or Sāmbhar son of Annalladeva dated Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1164).[1] Among the smaller inscriptions on the pillar mention may be made of the name of *Sri Bhadra Mitra* or *Subhadramitra* written in Gupta script[2], and also other names of *Subarṇakāras* (goldsmiths) *viz.*, *Surya Vishnu*, *Varma*, *Har Mugha* (or *Singha*) and his son *Kumara*. The name of a wandering mendicant *Siddha Bhayankara Natha Jogi* occurs on the pillar. According to Cunningham all these inscriptions were engraved when the pillar stood on its original site at Topra[3]. Later on after its removal two more records were added on to it both in Nagari and dated *Samvat* 1581 (A.D. 1524); the engravers being *Amra* and *Vyas* son of *Sāyana*. The last mentions the name of *Sulitāna Ibrāhima* or Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. (A.D. 1517-25).

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, 1890, p. 215.
[2] Cunningham's. *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 167.
[3] Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. V, p. 143.

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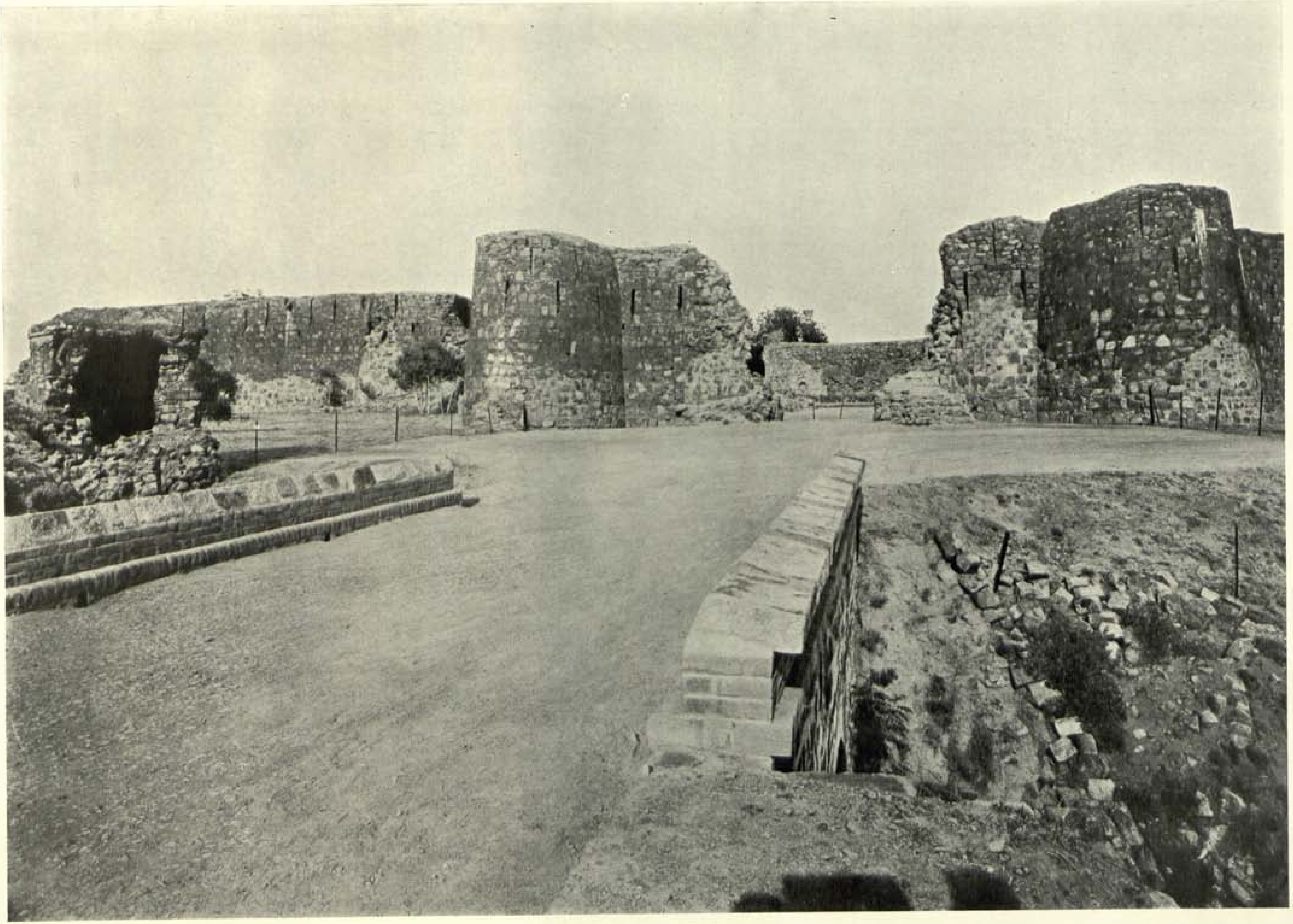
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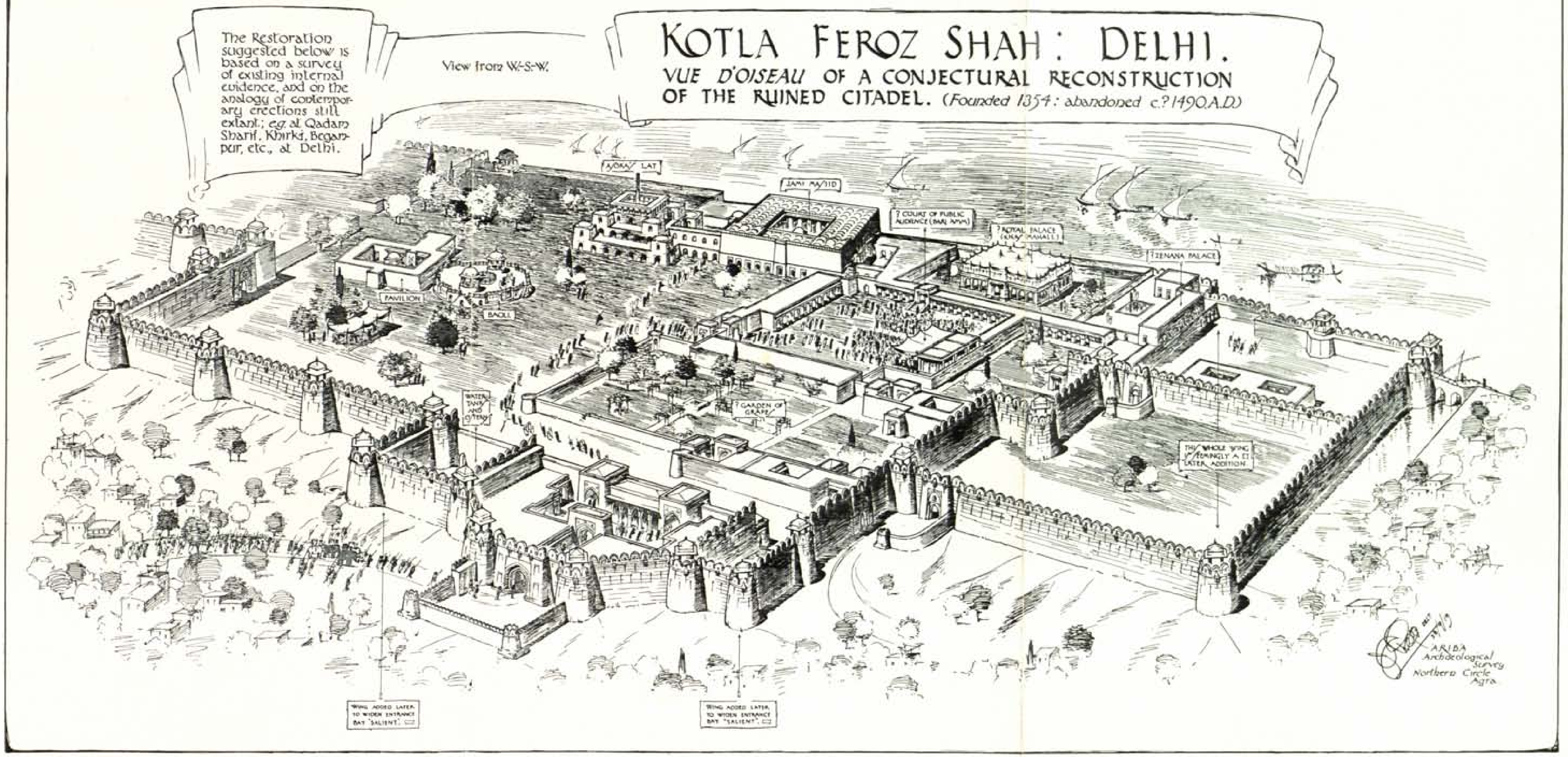
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PLATES.



Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi. Bara gateway. General view. South-west.

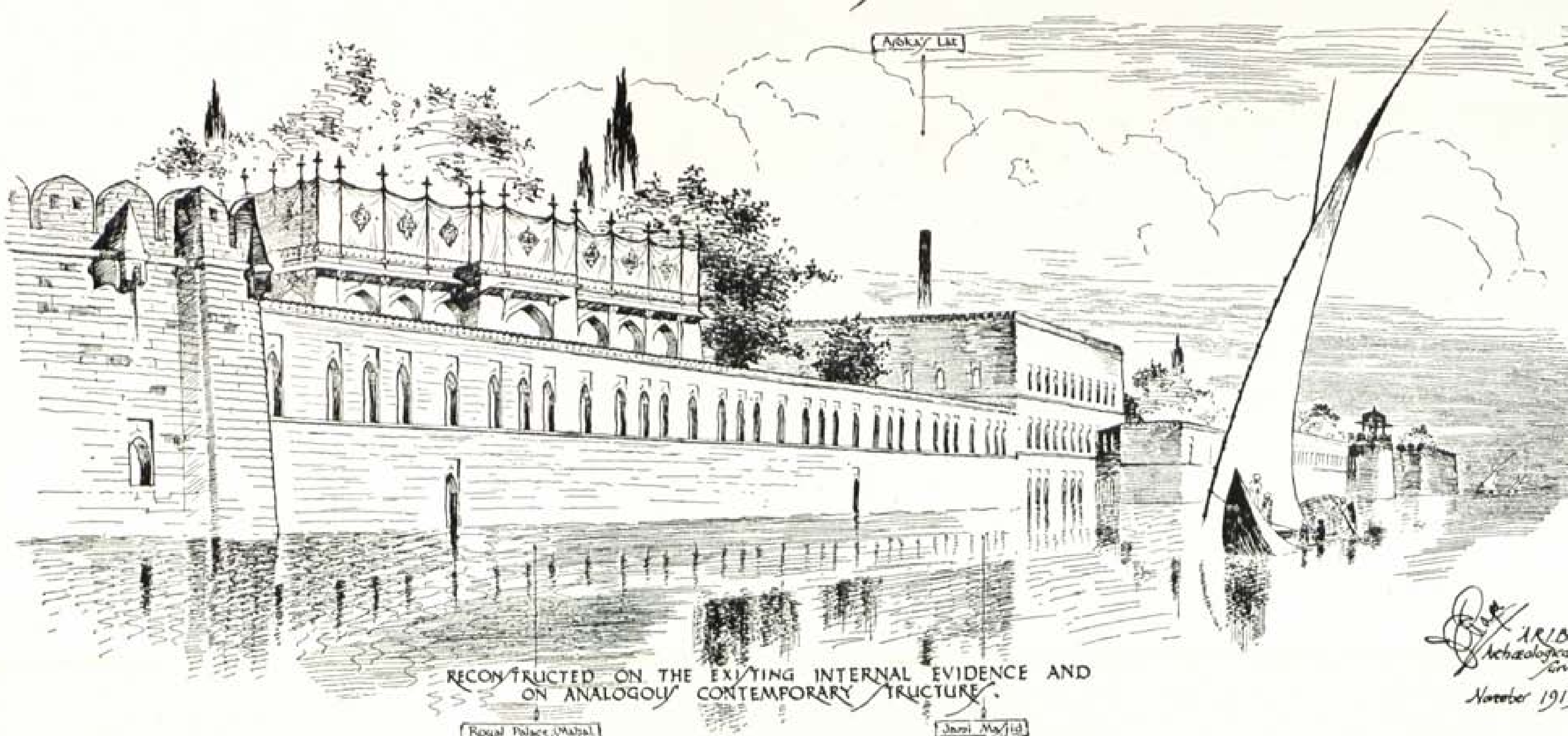
Plate II



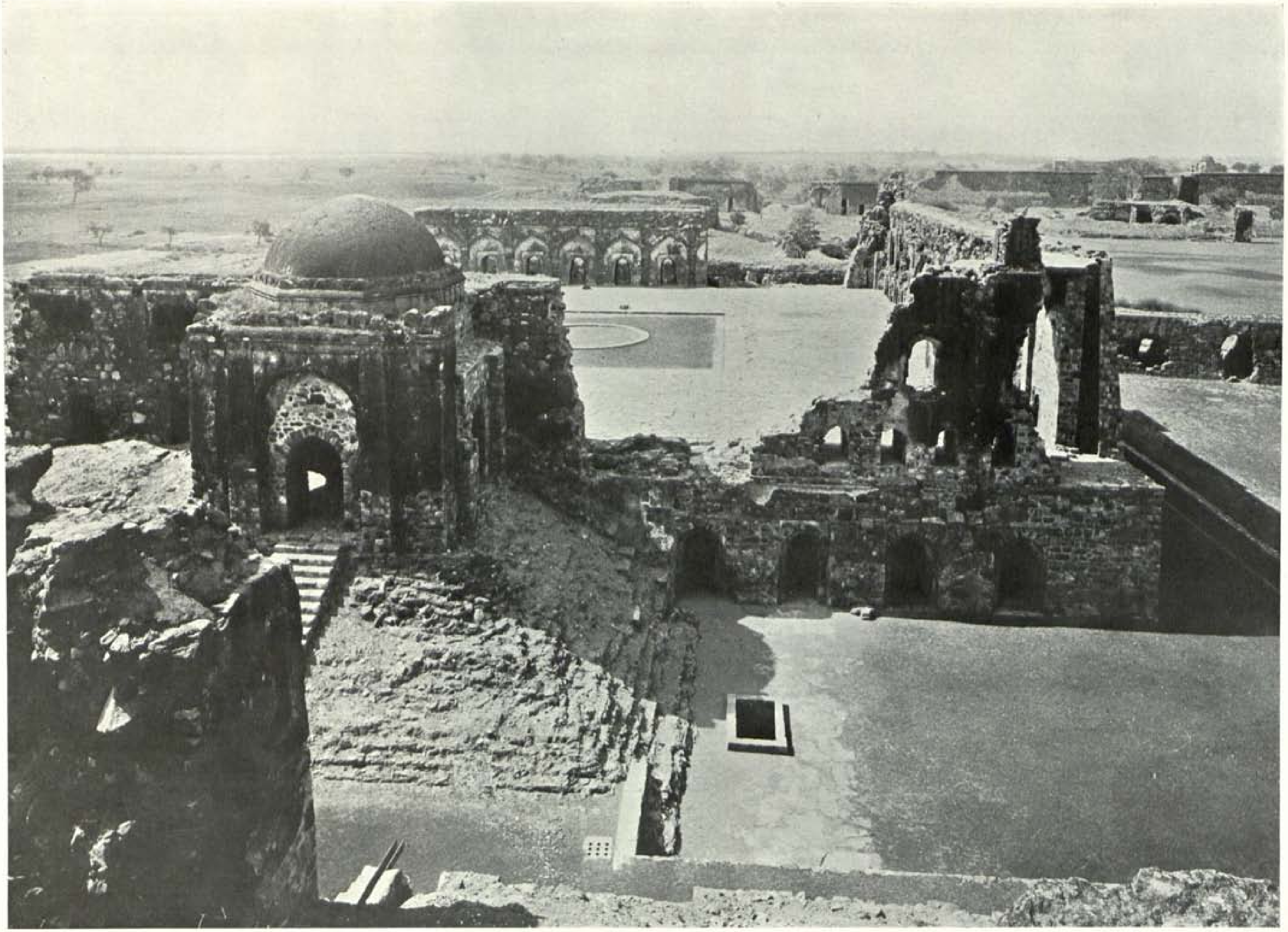
KOTLA FEROZ SHAH: DELHI.
VUE D'OISEAU OF A CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE RUINED CITADEL. (Founded 1354: abandoned c.? 1490 A.D.)
The Restoration suggested below is based on a survey of existing internal evidence, and on the analogy of contemporary erections still extant; e.g. at Qadam Sharif, Khirki, Begampur, etc., at Delhi.
View from W.-S.-W.
JAMI MASJID
? COURT OF PUBLIC AUDIENCE
? ZENANA PALACE
PAVILION
BAOLI
? GARDEN OF GRAPES
WING ADDED LATER TO WIDEN ENTRANCE BAY "SALIENT".
WING ADDED LATER TO WIDEN ENTRANCE BAY "SALIENT".
A.R.I.B.A.
Archaeological Survey
Northern Circle
Agra.

Plate III.

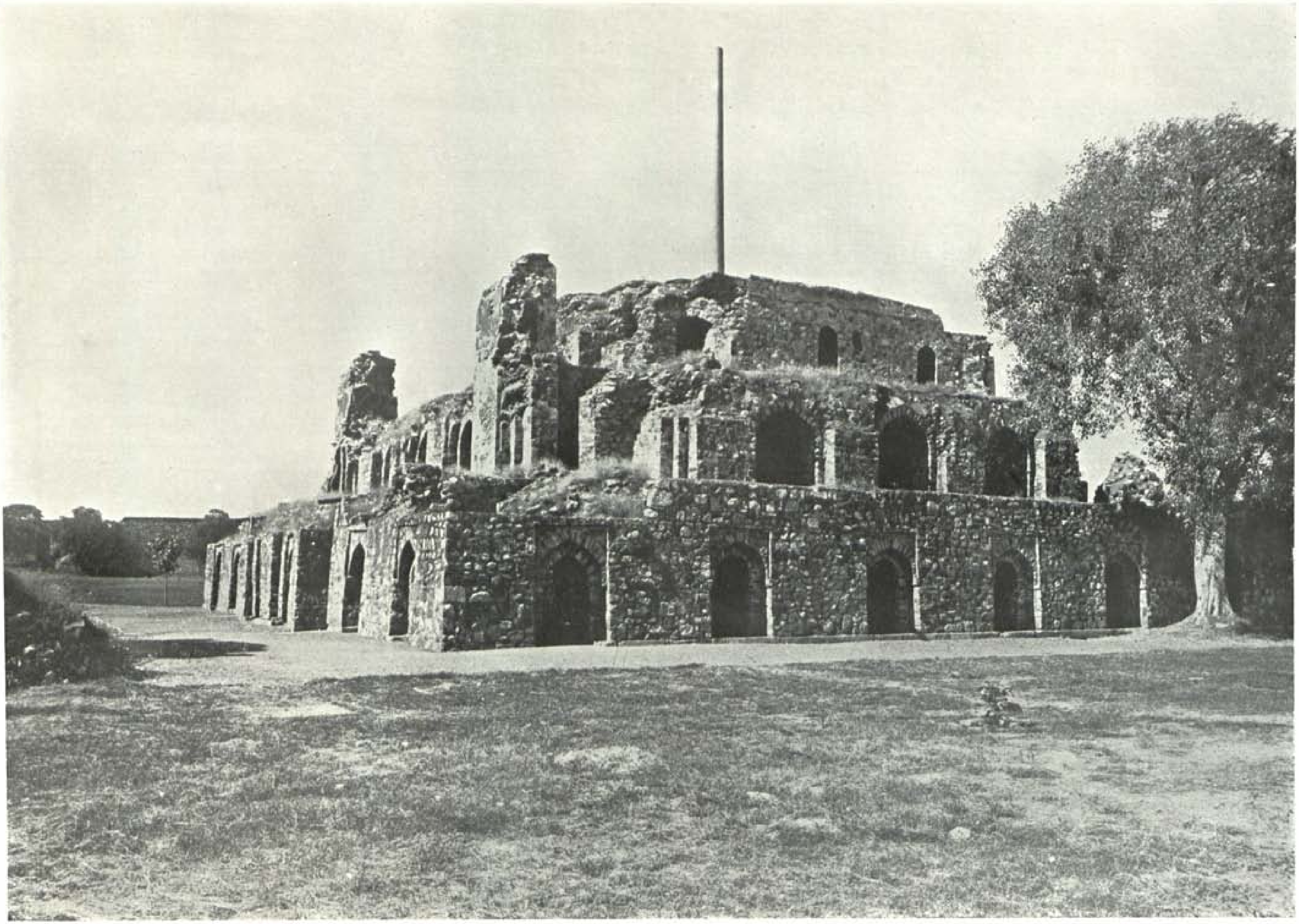
KOTLA FEROZ SHAH: DELHI. PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF RIVER FRONT.



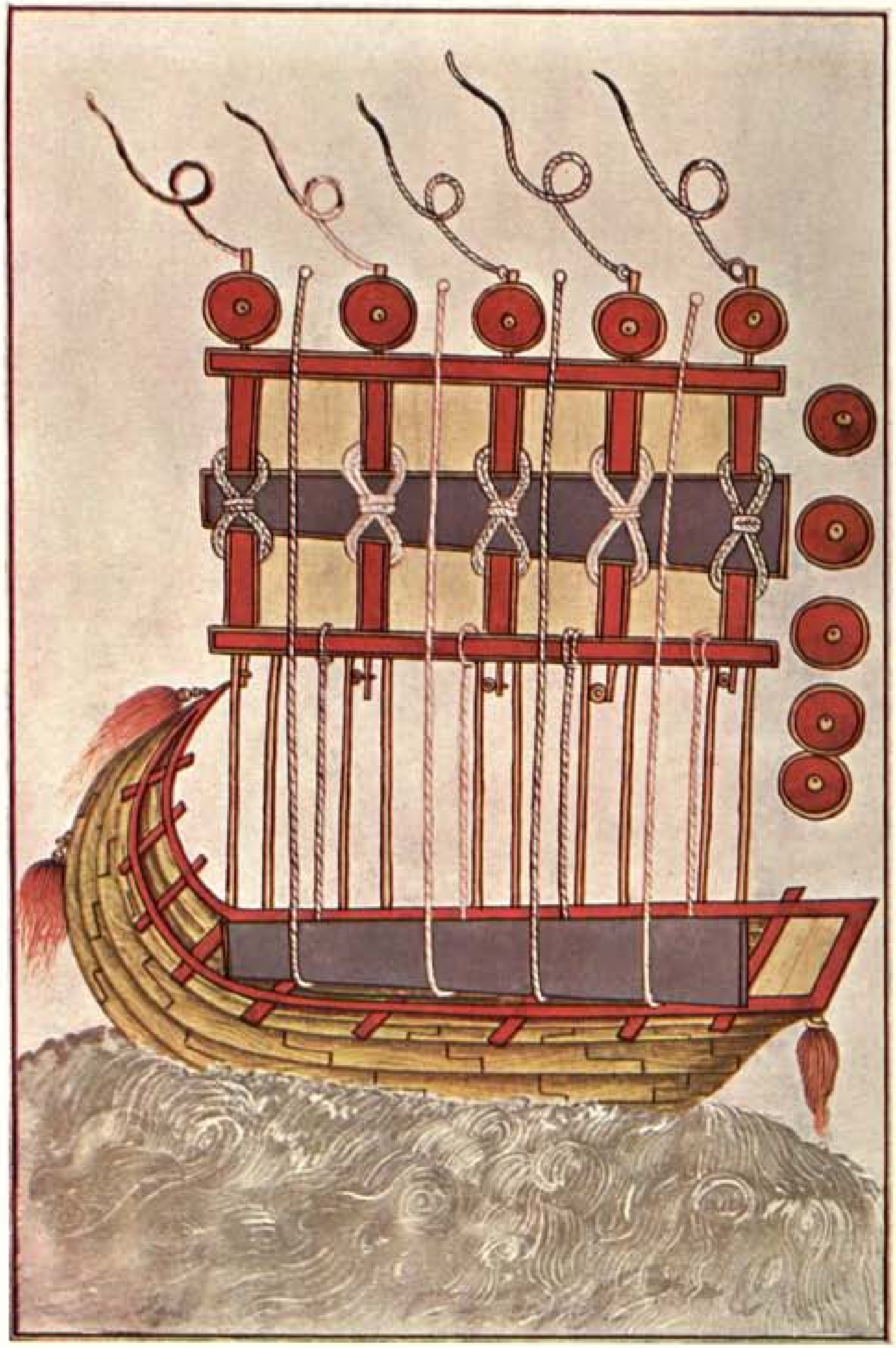
RECONSTRUCTED ON THE EXISTING INTERNAL EVIDENCE AND ON ANALOGOUS CONTEMPORARY STRUCTURES.



Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi. General view of the mosque after conservation. North-west.



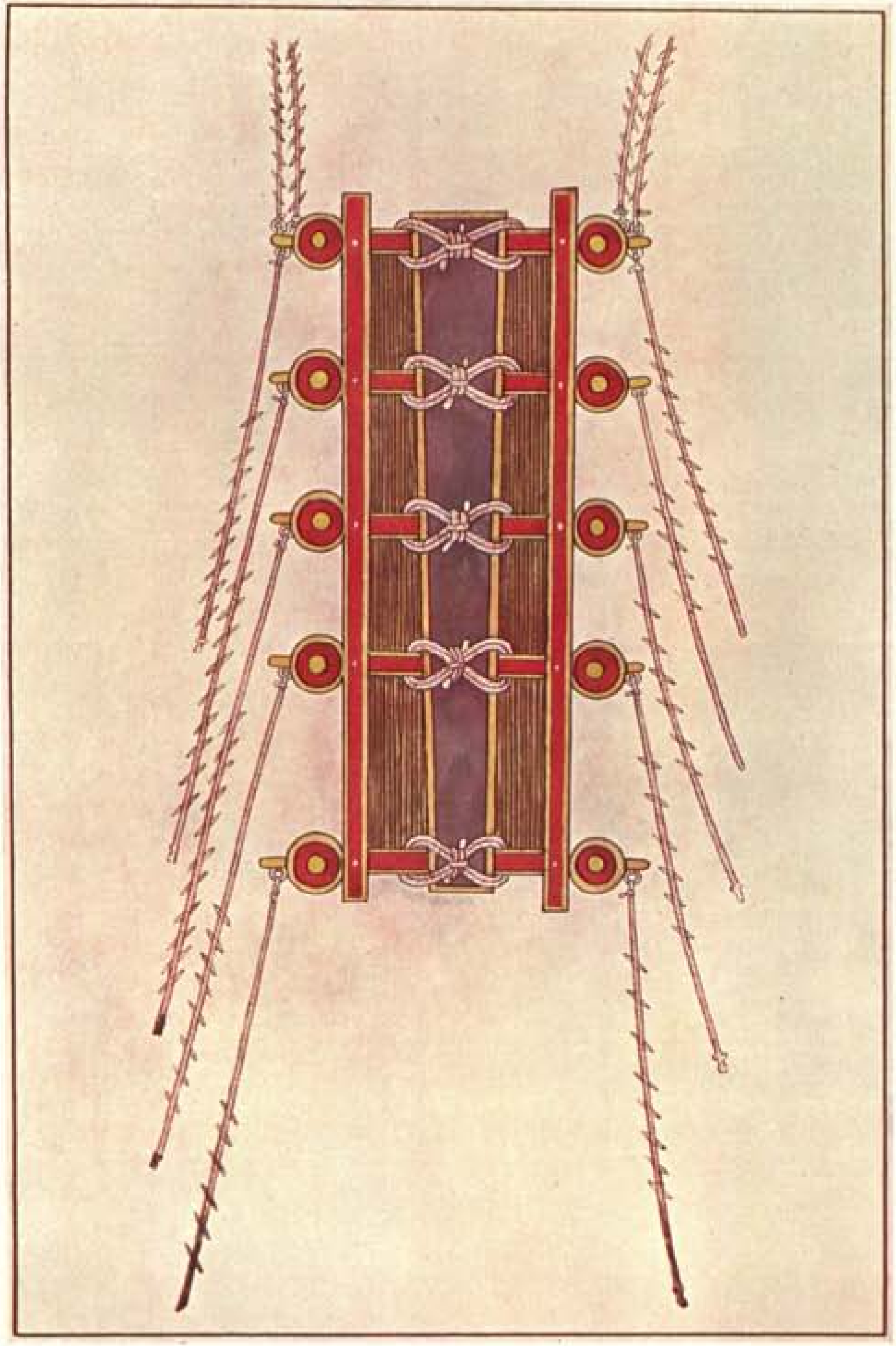
Kotla Firozsha, Delhi. View of the *Lat Pyramid*.



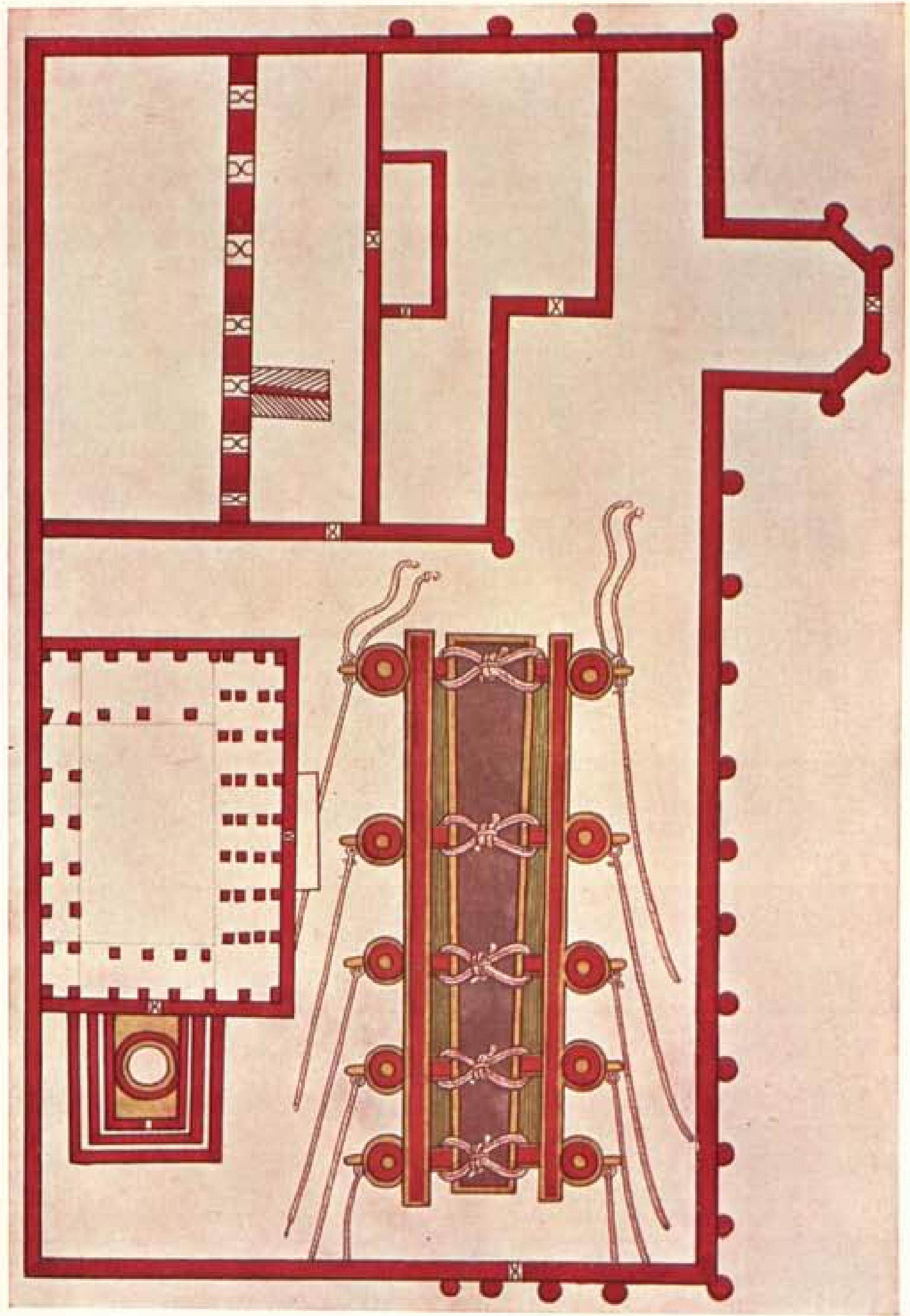
(a). Removing wheels of the cart from one side and tying ropes and pulling up the pillar to place it in the boat.



(b). Arrival of boat with pillar at the bank of the Jamna, (near Delhi) tying ropes to the pillar to remove it from the boat and place it on the cart.



(*c*). The monolith being carried on the *ladha* (cart) towards the town of Firozabad (Delhi).



(*d*). Arrival of the cart with pillar, in front of the mosque of Firozabad (Delhi).

TRANSLATION OF THE EXTRACTS [FOLIOS 91 (b) TO 105 (b)] FROM SIRAT-I-FIROZSHAHI.

A Persian manuscript in *Nastaliq* character dated 1002 A.H. in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna. The extracts deal with the removal of the so-called Minarah-i-Zarrin (golden pillar)—the monolith containing the edicts of Asoka from the village of Topra near Khizrabad to Firozabad now known as Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi.

The Golden Pillar.

[91-*b*] Verse—

1. This pillar, high as the heaven, is made of a single block of stone and tapers upward, being broad at the base and narrow at the top.

2. Seen from a hundred *farsang*[1] it looks like a hillock of gold, as the Sun when it spreads its rays in the morning.

3. No bird—neither eagle, nor crane—can fly as high as its top; and arrows, whether *Khadang* or *Khaṭāī*[2], cannot reach to its middle.

4. If thunder were to rage about the top of this pillar, no one could hear the sound owing to the great distance (between the top of the pillar and the ground).

5. O God! how did they lift this heavy mountain (*i.e.*, the pillar)?; and in what did they fix it (so firmly) that it does not move from its place?

6. How did they carry it to the top of the building which almost touches the heavens and place it there (in its upright position)?

7. How could they paint it all over with gold, (so beautifully) that it appears to the people like the golden morning!

8. Is it the lote-tree of paradise (*ṭūbā*) which the angels may have planted in this world or is it the heavenly "*sidrah*"[3] which the people imagine to be a mountain?

9. Its foundations have been filled with iron and stone; and its trunk and branches (*i.e.*, shaft and capital) are made of gold and corals.[4]

And truly as the removal of the stone monolith and its erection in front of the mosque by the order of the King is a wonderful achievement, the methods employed in its removal and erection are being recorded in this book, in order that the description may be useful for those who wish to know the details thereof. This work was done at the time when [92-*a*] by the grace of the Almighty God, the King (whose kingdom may ever endure) was able to conquer the country of Sind—and this country is so very difficult to control and administer that people generally believe the task to be impossible, and the continuance of disturbance there for generation after generation have affected the kingdom like a chronic disease, as is well known to the public; yet the King with the help of his grand cavalry[5] and star-like army marching under the victorious banners shining as the bright Sun, may God ever keep them victorious, totally subdued that province, and (was able to) bring the chiefs, headmen and *zamindars* of that province together with their

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[1] A *farsang* varies from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to 8 miles.

[2] *Khadang*-poplar, hence arrows made of indigenous poplar. *Khaṭāī*-arrows imported from K͟haṭā. Distances were sometimes counted in arrow-shots in those days.

[3] The (imaginary) plum tree in the 7th Heaven, marking the limit beyond which no human or celestial beings have any knowledge of anything (*Muntahal Arab*).

[4] In the original MS the first word (همایون) of the last hemistich is superfluous. The words و مرجان at the beginning of the next prose line ought to come at the end of the verse.

These verses are, if not the earliest, one of the earliest examples of *Musammaṭ* verse so popular in later days.

[5] *Gardun* or some other word has obviously been left out between مراکب and شکوه

wives, children and near relations to the capital—as has already been mentioned in this book in the chapter dealing with the King's wars and heroic deeds—; and when the victorious banners returned to Firozabad, the capital (may it remain safe until the end of the world), it so happened that the King resolved to go out hunting towards the Sirmur hills. On a former hunting expedition too the King had visited the neighbourhood of these hills and had seen the stone pillar in the village Topra[1] on the bank of the Janān (Jamna ?) which flows into (*i.e.*, supplies water to) the Firoz-bah canal.

On the pillar is an inscription, the characters of which are unintelligible to the men of this period; but the (native) historians have a tradition to the effect that four thousand odd years have passed since this pillar and a temple were erected at this place. Another inscription on the pillar is only 249 years old and is said to mention that Bīsal Deva, Chohan, Rai of Sambhal, who came to worship certain idols on the banks of the Saraswati river, found this pillar in its present position. It is also said that Doa (or Dowa) the Mongol king and Qatlugh Khwaja, the Mongol, visited this place with their armies; and that later on Tirmeshirin[2] also visited the place and [92-*b*] attempted to split the pillar by burning a huge fire around its base, but the pillar did not crack—though some effect of the fire may still be traced. The firewood required for the purpose was got together by ordering that each man of his army who rode an animal was to bring a load of firewood twice.

The King of Islam now prayed to the Almighty God that he may be enabled to remove the stone pillar and re-erect it near the Jum'ah mosque of Firozabad on the bank of the Javan (Jamna) With this purpose the King went on a (second) hunting expedition to the Sirmur hills, and in the village of Maqbulabad, *alias* Topra, which is situated on the banks of the Jatan (Chitang ?)[3] the stream which feeds the Firoz-bah canal stood the stone pillar, the like of which in height and circumference had not been seen by any one.

(Verse) None ever saw such a beautiful pillar under the canopy of the heavens which is unsupported by any poles.

The King saw this pillar (for the second time).

The sages and wise men of the time were simply astonished at the sight, and though they dived deep into the sea of thought they succeeded not in bringing out the pearl of the solution of these secrets—namely whence and how this heavy and lofty stone monolith was brought to this place and what were the exact engineering methods employed in its erection here. Verily such an achievement could hardly have been accomplished by human beings for the simple reason that it is beyond the powers of Man. Some of the learned infidels, on the authority of their Hindi books, said that the pillar had grown out of the (bowels of the) earth and reached the heavens[4]; while others said that underneath the pillar was a magical *talisman* and that nobody could remove the pillar, and that if excavations were made around the base of the pillar large vipers, snakes, scorpions and wasps would come out and bring the people to grief. [93-*a*] Such were the things which the King heard; (but) as he was determined to remove the pillar he said "By the grace of the Creator, who sees and hears everything, we shall remove this lofty pillar and make a *minar* of it in the Jum'ah Mosque of Firozabad where, God willing, it shall stand as long as the world endures." So the King ordered the engineers and all the wise, shrewd, and ingenous men of the time to devise, each man according to his own intelligence, understanding and ingenuity, the means of taking

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[1] Alias Maqbulabad, as related on folio 92-*b*.

[2] Tirmeshīrin, ruler of Bukhara and Mawaraun Nahr, was the son of (دوا) Dowa, and brother of Katlugh Khudja, of the family of Chingiz Khān. Tirmeshirin invaded India in 728 H. (1328-29 A.D.), and carried his arms to within sight of Delhi the ruler whereof, Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, was absent in the Deccan at that time. (Badāyūnī, *Persian Text*, p. 227-28).

[3] 'Afif in his *Tārīkh-i- Firoz Shāhi*, p. 310 gives the name of the river as Jamna. But the text reads more like Chanab. It might be Chitang. But it should probably be Jamna.

[4] Afif (p. 305) mentions that the Hindus believed the pillar to have been used as a stick (*lāthī*) by Bhīm, the hero of the Mahābhārata. Almost every big column of ancient days in India is called the *lāthī* of Bhīm or Bhīmsen.

down the pillar, its removal to Firozabad, which is the resort of all the occupants of the inhabited quarter[1], and its re-erection in the Jum'ah Mosque of Firozabad, and to let the King know of the various methods they would suggest. But in truth, those who for their shrewdness, sagacity and ingenuity claimed to be the equals of Avicenna, Plato, Galenus, Aristotle and Buzurj-mihr[2], caught the skirts of inability with the teeth of excuses in this task, and considered that the removal of the pillar was absolutely impossible. Thereupon His Majesty the King of Islam who has been adorned and amply endowed by God with all religious and worldly virtues and with sound knowledge and perfect wisdom, himself devised ingenious plans and methods of each operation connected with this achievement. The felling and transporting of the pillar was accomplished with the help of divine inspiration, in accordance with human understanding as revealed in the king's wise plans in the month of Muharram 769 A.H. (September 1367 A.C.). And every detail of the work including the tying of ropes and construction of masonry piers; pulling the ropes in all directions and balancing the pillar with their help; the employment of elephants for dragging the (fallen) pillar, and following on their failure [93-*b*] the employment of longer ropes with 20,000 men and their success in carrying the pillar to the banks of the Jamna; then arranging well-balanced boats for the pillar, loading the pillar on the boats and floating the same; its journey to Firozabad; the making of all the arrangements over again for removing the pillar and carrying it in front of the Jum'ah Mosque, there constructing a (large) building, raising and placing the pillar thereon with the help of pulleys, etc., and re-erecting the pillar according to the laws of wisdom—a gift of the most exalted God, all this was done exactly in the same way as was ordered by His Majesty the King, may God perpetuate his rule and sovereignty.

The plan of taking down the pillar to the ground was suggested by the King (*as follows*):—

Construct six wooden piers like unto the piers of a dome, each ten yards in circumference and of the same height as the monolith itself. Two of these piers should be constructed behind the pillar and two (to the right and two)[3] on the left. The distances of the piers should be six yards from each other and seven yards from the monolith. The piers then should be strengthened with iron nails and wrapped with raw *hides* and ropes, each pier being further supported on three sides by two very thick and long wooden (slanting) supports on each side. The wooden piers should then be joined to each other by means of (two) large wooden beams in the middle and at the top, and on each of the beams a wheel[4] should be fixed in a vertical position whereon the ropes could easily pass. Such wheels should be fixed at five places, two on either side of the monolith and one at the back. Then in order to hold and move (*i.e.*, to tighten or relax) these ropes, five *pulleys* (or winches ?) should be set up (on three sides of the pillar, *i.e.*, two at either side and one at the back), and behind the pulley at the back (of the monolith) should be the end pier (*'aqban*) and another wheel should be fixed there with the necessary rope tied to it. The ends of these six ropes[5] should be tightly bound round the pillar so that its upper portion [94-*a*] may be firmly held by them. And to the two piers in front of the pillar should be tied thick strong ropes, running from end to end, in twenty places so that there shall be a rope at every yard[6]. So that when the top of the pillar is lowered, it shall rest on the ropes. And four long ropes should be tied to the top of the pillar. These ropes may be pulled towards the front when it is desired to incline the pillar from its upright position and at the same time the ropes at the pulleys may be relaxed

[1] *i.e.*, the earth as distinguished from the water which covers the remaining three quarters of our Earth.

[2] Name of the prime minister of Nūshīrawān, the famous Sassani King of Persia.

[3] The manuscript does not contain these words; but in order to make up the 6 piers spoken of in the previous line I have added these words in the translation.

[4] The illustration it will be seen, does not tally with the description in the manuscript; two of the beams have 2 pulleys each.

[5] Only five of the ropes are shown in the illustration.

[6] The illustration shows only ten of these ropes.

yard by yard until the pillar rests on the horizontal ropes tied in front. Then the particular rope on which the top of the pillar rests may be slowly relaxed and untied ; the pillar pulled towards the front and the ropes at the pulleys relaxed bit by bit and the operation repeated until the head of the pillar shall rest on the *pāsheb* in front. [This *pāsheb* should be constructed at a distance of six yards from the base of the pillar ; it should be fifteen yards in length, ten yards in width, and sixteen yards high, but the height should (decrease gradually to form a slope until it is) only five yards on the side facing the pillar. This *pāsheb* should be made of mud, and on all four sides it should be strengthened with wooden supports.[1]]

[94-*b*] *Illustration showing the erection of the piers and pulleys and the tying of ropes, for taking down the stone pillar.* (Illustration Fig. 1).

[95-*a*] And this *pāsheb* should be constructed at a distance of six yards from the base of the pillar ; it should be fifteen yards wide, ten yards deep and sixteen yards high but the height should decrease gradually to form a slope until it is only five yards on the side facing (*i.e.*, nearest) the pillar. This *pāsheb* should be made of mud and on all four sides it should be strengthened with wooden supports.

Illustration showing the pāsheb on which the stone pillar should rest while it is being taken down. (Illustration Fig. 2).

[95-*b*] And the stone (pillar), before it is taken down, should be covered all round with long reeds and wrapped with raw hides ; and large quantities of paddy straw should be placed over the *pāsheb* so that the stone may not receive any hurt or injury. And when the pillar rests on the *pāsheb*, mud to the depth of about a yard may be removed from under the pillar, keeping all the ropes at the back and sides quite taut. When one yard of mud is removed, the ropes at the back pulleys may be (slowly) relaxed. This should be repeated again and again until the pillar lies prone on the ground.

The Royal order was followed and accordingly the pillar laid its head low on the ground.

The device of placing the pillar on the flat cart (gardūn) known as ladha in the Hindi language. —The King of Islam, whose rule be perpetuated, ordered the preparation of a cart equal in length to the length of the stone pillar and provided with ten[2] wheels, each ten yards in circumference. The cart should then be placed length-wise near the pillar and on the side nearest the pillar, the wheels of the cart should be pulled off and their axle-rods supported on a *pakka* brick wall constructed at a distance of six yards from the pillar. A *pāsheb* should then be constructed from the top surface of this wall to the base of the pillar, and on the other side of the cart where the wheels are still on their axles should be erected (a row of) four pulleys at a distance of ten yards[3] from the cart. The ropes of the pulleys should then be tied to the pillar at four points ; four other ropes may also be tied (to the pillar) in between[4] (*sic*) and pulled with the hands[5]. Then let the pulleys revolve as much as is desirable and (when the pillar has been raised and is to be lowered down on the cart then) yield the ropes slowly until the pillar is correctly placed and balanced on the cart. Then the (*pakka*) wall may be removed from under the axle-rods, the wheels re-attached to the cart, and earth, etc., cleared from below the same, so that it may be ready to start. The Royal orders were acted upon and the result was exactly as it was expected.

[96-*a*] *Illustration showing the erection of pulleys and the raising of the pillar in order to place it on the ladha.* (Illustration Fig. 3).

[1] The passage in square brackets is deleted by the scribe. The way of doing this is interesting. At the beginning of the passage he has written *lā i.e.*, 'omit' or 'delete' and at the end *ilā*, *i.e.*, 'up to this point'. The passage is given in its proper position on folio 95-(*a*).

[2] Afif (p. 309) says that the *gardun* had 42 wheels, but that is evidently incorrect.

[3] A yard was equivalent to about two feet.

[4] The word in the manuscript is درمیانها as I have translated.

[5] The extra four ropes do not appear to be shown in the illustration.

The device of carrying the pillar on the gardun or ladha.—The King ordered that ten large iron rings should be attached to either side of the cart. (96-*b*) Thick long ropes may then be tied to the rings at one end and to the necks of elephants at the other. Similarly three thick ropes may be tied to the front of the cart and passed on to the necks of bullocks; so that the cart may thus be dragged forward from three sides, by bullocks in front and by elephants on the right and left. Four ropes may also be tied at the back of the cart and a party of men should hold them, pulling the ropes backward where the ground may slope thus preventing the cart from going down by force and out of control as that would not be free from danger; and where the ground in front of the cart may rise the party holding the back ropes should also help in dragging the cart forward. So in truth it was done; but the mountain-like elephants, lofty and furious, though they tried to drag it with all their prowess, did not succeed in their efforts and could not move the cart; so the King ordered the elephants to be removed and the pillar to be dragged by men both slaves and free men. Great Khans and well-known persons, courtiers, well-to-do gentlemen and ordinary men all caught hold of the ropes only too willingly (*lit.* passed the ropes over their obedient necks) to drag the cart forward. The cart began to move and all were pleased beyond measure, and, in token of this practical demonstration of their loyalty, exclaimed.

(Verse).

The load which could not be carried by a thousand of your furious elephants, we carry it with ease on our own necks.

And thus, with all desirable order and systematic arrangements, the pillar was taken to the bank of the Jamna where a boat was ready. God be praised and thanked.

[97-*a*] *Illustration showing the arrival of the ladha with the stone pillar, at the bank of the Jamna River.* (Illustration Fig. 4).

The device of placing the pillar on the boat.—(The King ordered that) the cart carrying the pillar should be brought to [97-*b*] the *ghāt* where the boat was to be moored. At the place where the boat shall be tied, the ground should be dug as much as necessary[1], so that it may be all right.[2] The wheels towards the boat side may then be removed from the cart so that on this side the cart (axles) should rest on the ground. Four pulleys should then be erected in a line (*lit.* facing each other) behind the pillar at a distance of ten yards and two pulleys at each end of the pillar at the same distance. To these pulleys strong ropes should be tied and a *pāsheb* of thick wooden beams constructed from the pillar right down to the middle of the boat where the pillar will rest. Then the ropes of the four pulleys opposite the pillar as well as the four ropes (of the corner pulleys ?) which would be held by men, should be relaxed yard by yard but all the time held firmly so as to move one end of the pillar exactly as much as the other. In this way it should be moved until the pillar rests exactly in the middle of the boat.

In the boat itself each alternate opening should be filled in with lime-mortar, the other being left for draining water. Further, a large frame (tāran) should be prepared with ten long beams of *sembal* and *tāṛ* trees and suspended along either side of the boat. These frames will be helpful in loading and floating the boat. And on the other, *i.e.*, river-side of the boat, should be bound two large boats to serve as a support.[3] When the pillar is correctly placed in the boat it should be tied with ropes in eight places to the boat and to the *tāran*. Then all should say *Bismillāh-i-majrihā wa mursāhā*, *i.e.*, in the name of God may the boat go and anchor[4], and the boatmen should begin to row,

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[1] To permit of the boat being brought close to the river bank.

[2] The manuscript does not give the verb after تا درست

[3] At the time of loading, the main boat will naturally incline to one side. These extra boats will not allow it to overturn or incline too much.

[4] Quranic verse recited by Muhammadans when a boat first begins to move because Noah recited it for his Ark.

Illustration showing the pulling off of the wheels of the cart from one side and the tying of ropes and pulling (up) of the pillar so that it may be placed in the boat.

[98-*a*]

(Illustration Plate VI, *a*).

[98-*b*] until the raft arrives near the fort of Firozabad at the ghat where we[1] have ordered the deepening of the bank of the Jamna.

Illustration showing the arrival of the boat and pillar by the bank of the Jamna, the bringing of a cart near the boat, and the tying of ropes to the pillar in order to remove it from the boat, and place it on the cart.

(Illustration Plate VI, *b*).

[99-*a*] From the boat (the King ordered that), the pillar should be removed and carried to the mosque of Firozabad, just in the same way as it was carried on the cart before and shifted from the cart on to the boat;

Illustration showing the departure of the cart with the monolith for the town of Firozabad.

(Illustration Plate VI, *c*).

[99-*b*] *Illustration showing the arrival of the cart with the pillar, in front of the mosque of Firozabad.*

(Illustration Plate VI, *d*).

[100-*a*] *Illustration showing the construction of the foundations of a structure, 61 yards square (on which to raise the pillar).*

(Illustration Fig. 5).

[100-*b*] so that by the grace of God Almighty the pillar may be erected in the mosque; and whatever the King had wished or intended God was gracious enough to grant.

The method of erecting the pillar and making it a minār in the Jum'ah Mosque of Firozabad.

The King of Islam ordered that a large pit sixty one yards square be dug to a depth of seven yards, and the whole of it filled in with stone and mortar (masonry), until the masonry is level with the ground surface, where it should measure only 60 yards square. To these dimensions it (the plinth) should be raised to a height of three yards of which the lower one yard may be left out of consideration[2] and the top of the remaining two yards considered as the floor of a series of arched chambers. Thus the walls of the chambers shall commence at a height of three yards (from the ground surface) and raised to a height of six yards and a half, the roof being eight yards wide and serving as the floor of the second storey.

Illustration showing the building of the 1st storey and the raising of the pillar on the top of this storey by means of ropes [3].

[101-*a*]

(Illustration Fig. 6).

Above this should be constructed on (intersecting ?)[4] arches, the second or middle storey, forty-four yards square, six yards and a half in height with its roof eight yards wide and forming the floor of the third storey.

[101-*b*] *Illustration showing the (plan of the) second storey.*

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[1] *i.e.*, the King.

[2] And covered with earth (?)

[3] Folio 100-*b* ends here, leaving a space of some three inches blank. The illustration occupies folio 101 (*a*).

[4] *tāq dar tāq* طاق در طاق

(Illustration Fig. 7).

[102-*a*] And the third storey of this building should be 28 yards square in plan. Of this, a space of nine yards in width on all four sides should be covered by eight domes[1], leaving a space of ten yards square in the centre where the pillar shall have to be erected. On this central space should be constructed, very carefully, a *pakka* masonry platform with stone and mortar. The third storey should also be six yards and a half in height, the total height of all the three storeys together being 22 yards and a half[2].

Illustration showing the raising of the pillar two yards at a time, first at one end and then at the other (lit. *from right to left and from left to right*). (Illustration Fig. 8.)

This illustration shows how the pillar was carried up (to the top of the building). After the masonry was raised to a height of two yards on one side, it would be commenced at the other side, and raised to the same level as the first side so that the pillar may be rolled over to that side. Then again the masonry (and the pillar) would be raised to a further height of two yards on this side and the process would be repeated on the other side, the masonry being raised two yards at a time and the pillar raised accordingly (and placed on the finished masonry whence it would be rolled over to the other side after the intervening gap was filled).

And the central space (in the 3rd storey)[3] [102-*b*] which is ten yards square and where the pillar shall be erected, should be carefully measured and marked so that the distance between the pillar and the domes should be exactly[4] eight yards on each side. Of the total twenty-two yards length of the pillar, the lower two yards should be fixed into the central masonry platform and the remaining twenty yards be visible. Thus the building being twenty-one yards and a half in height[5] and the visible portion of the pillar twenty yards, the total height would become forty-two yards and a half (when the pillar is erected). On the top of the monolith should then be set up a capital made of coloured stones and consisting of a pedestal (*kursī*) a myrobalam-shaped ornament (*halīlah*), a globe (*minjūq*) and a crescent (*māh*). The height of this capital should be seven yards and a half so that the total height (of the top of the pillar from the ground) may be full fifty yards. (Moreover), at the top of the third storey, at the four corners, should be placed the figures of four lions, each four yards square in plan and five yards in height.

Illustration showing the third storey. (Illustration Fig. 9.) [103-*a*] *Description of the methods of constructing the building and raising the stone pillar.*

By the command and suggestion of the King of Islam it was ordered that the following method be employed for raising the pillar :—

First, a sloping *pāsheb*, twenty-eight yards wide, be constructed from the ground up to the roof of the first storey which is nine and a half yards in height. Eight pulleys should then be set up on this roof and two at the corners. The two ends of the pillar should be tied to the corner pulleys; and ten more ropes should be tied to the pillar and held by men. Then twenty poles of wood, called *sāng* by the *Kahārs* in India, should be placed at intervals across the *pāsheb*, and two thick wooden beams equal in length to that of the pillar itself, and each five yards in circumference should be placed along the pillar, one on either side. Now let the pulleys be turned and the hand-ropes drawn. As the pillar is pulled upward, the two thick supporting beams shall move along with it. When the pillar has been taken over the *pāsheb* to the level roof of the first storey, it should be rolled close to the pulleys and kept there. Then on this

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[1] Three domes on each side.

[2] *i.e.*, inclusive of the plinth which was three yards high.

[3] Two illustrations follow here. A third is given about the centre of the page.

[4] *Hasht-gān* (هشتگان) is clearly written in the manuscript, but it is no doubt a mistake, for the actual distance between the domed space and the pillar could not be more than 4 yards each way.

[5] The height of the building should be $22\frac{1}{2}$ yards as given before. The total height is correct.

side, where the pillar is placed and the pulleys stand, a space of about the circumference of the pillar be left out at either end and the rest of the building raised to a height of two yards. Now the stone pillar should again be raised with the help of ropes and placed on the top of the newly raised walls. (When the gap has been filled in), the pillar may again be rolled over to that side and leaving out a space of about the circumference of the pillar the rest of the structure raised to a height of two yards exactly in the same way as before. In this manner the pillar may be raised two yards at a time until it reaches the top of the building of which the total height would be twenty-one yards and a half. Then the whole of the top surface (of the third storey) should be levelled up, the central space, where the pillar is to be set up, with stone and mortar and the surrounding portion[1] with stone-[103-*b*]-in-mud.

Then the pedestal on which the pillar will stand should be firmly fixed in the centre of the platform with such precision and accuracy that it may be perfectly level, without the slightest inclination to any side. Three stone beams each measuring seven yards in length, one yard in height and one yard deep should then be fixed on the south, east and west of the pedestal.[2] Over the stone beam fixed on the south side of the pedestal should then be placed another stone beam seven yards in length and one yard high; and over the eastern and western beams, two blocks of stone each measuring two yards in length and one yard in height. Then on the north side should be placed (not fixed) two beams, one, seven yards in length above the other, which should be one yard broad.[3] These two beams should be kept ready (but not fixed) until the pillar is erected in its proper position.

The stone pillar should now be placed on a cart with small and revolving wheels and moved to one side until the base of the pillar is in line with the top.[4]

After this, 24 pulleys should be set up in this way:—

On the south side namely
towards the mosque, 8 pulleys.

On the east, *i.e.*, to right
of the stone pillar, 6 pulleys.

On the west, *i.e.*, to left of
the stone pillar, 6 pulleys.

At the east and west angles[5]
of the pillar and near its
base 2 pulleys on either side
(*i.e.*, four pulleys in all).

The pulleys on the east and west should be set up (in two rows, the first row of three on each side being) four yards and (the second row at a distance of) seven yards[6] (from the pillar).

Besides these, four piers should be constructed on either side of the pillar, by the side of the piers of the domes, thus:—near the upper extremity of the pillar, two piers, each twelve yards in height; five yards lower down (*i.e.*, towards the base of the pillar) two piers, each eleven yards in height; five yards further down, two piers each ten yards in height; and [104-*a*] five yards further towards the base of the pillar, two piers, each nine yards in height.

And on the south, east and west sides (of the pillar) should be constructed a solid structure of the shape of a tower or bastion (*burj*) eight yards in height. The pulleys should then be turned; the *kahārs* use their *sāng* sticks, and the people exert themselves to raise the pillar. As

[1] Literally the words عمارت عاریت in the manuscript mean "borrowed structure", *i.e.*, one which is only for show. The arched chambers around the central solid space served no structural purpose.

[2] One on each side and close against the pedestal stone.

[3] And of course one yard high and seven yards long like the lower one on the south.

[4] *i.e.*, the central line of the whole pillar should be in straight line with the central line of the gap left on the north side of the pedestal.

[5] N. N. E. and N. N. W.

[6] This clause as it stands in the manuscript is unintelligible. Compare text lines 15 and 16, folio 103 (*b*).

soon as the upper extremity of the pillar has been raised one yard above the (levelled) surface, a stone-in-mud structure may be constructed under it at once. When this structure is completed, the ropes of the pulleys may be pulled again and as the upper end of the pillar rises higher and higher the stone-in-mud structure should also be raised. When the pillar arrives in front (*i.e.*, about the level) of the twelve yard pier the beam and wheel may be removed from that pier and a sloping *pāsheb* in stone-and-mud constructed under the column. Now the ropes of the pulleys should again be pulled; and three more wheels and three more pulleys should be set up on either side of the pillar, and the ropes pulled. When the pillar has been raised five yards higher, the upper one-third of it will reach the beam of the eleven yard pier. From this pier the beam, wheels, etc., should now be removed. The King's orders were obeyed and the pillar reached (the top level of) this pier. (The King then ordered that) all the ropes which were tied to the lower one-third of the pillar should be turned about (*i.e.*, shifted) and tied to the upper one-third only; and that all the wheels, the ropes of which have any inclination towards the lower end of the pillar, should be set up near the upper end so that the angle of inclination of the lower end of the pillar may not be more than is really desirable. So it was done and the pillar (*i.e.*, its upper end) was raised another 5 yards and nearly to a vertical position. But as on three sides of the pillar was a stone structure and the King feared lest the pillar base should strike against the stones with a sudden force and be injured, which God forbid, according to the King's orders and to alleviate his [104-*b*] fears, the pillar was tied with 35 strong ropes to the two masonry piers in front of it and instructions were given that these ropes should be tied correctly so that while permitting the pillar to be raised to the perpendicular position they would prevent it from striking (against the stones around its base). And that a large pillow of sack-cloth ten yards long and one yard in diameter should be filled with grass and placed between the pillar and the surrounding stone structure, so that the pillar should move slowly without striking against the stone structure with a sudden force. So it was done; (and) on Wednesday the 4th of the month of Ṣafar, 769 (A.H.) (=30th September, 1367 A.C.) the pillar stood erect in the desired position. The same day, according to the Royal orders, the two stones on the north which were kept ready for the purpose, were also fixed at the base of the pillar which was thus enclosed by stones to a height of two yards on all sides. No other man's schemes, not even a word from any wise man, engineer, architect, mason, or labourer[1] had anything whatsoever to do with this achievement. From the scheme of taking down the pillar, its transportation by boats, removal to the boats and from the boats to the fort, and its re-erection therein, as well as the construction of the building on which it was erected, every one of these works was done exactly according to the orders and suggestions of His Majesty the King, the refuge of Faith, may God give him power always to preserve and establish pious institutions (for public welfare). Amen!

Then on the north side, too, which was vacant up to that time was constructed a bastion of stone-in-mortar above the stones surrounding the pillar base so that the pillar was enclosed by solid structures on all sides to a height of eight yards. Then, all the pulleys and piers, supports and buttresses, everything in short set up for erecting the pillar, [105-*a*] were pulled down with the exception of the four masonry piers around the pillar. After this, a pavement of coloured stones was laid all round the monolith which was gilded, and a gilt finial, seven and a half yards in height, and consisting of a pedestal (*kursī* كرسي) a myrobalan-shaped ornament (*halīla* هليله), a flat moulding (*tās* طاس), a dentil reel (كنگني), a vase (*subū* سبو), a second reel and smaller vase (*subuchah* سبوچه) and a third reel, a flask (*surāhī* صراحي) and a crescent (*māh* ماه), was put up on the top of the pillar as the crowning ornament[2]. Then the covering of

[1] The words *sūt-hār*, *dāmī* and *kāmī* used in the manuscript for masons and labourers are all Hindi words.

[2] Afif (*Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*. p. 352) says that the vases, etc., of the finial were made of copper and gilded over.

reeds which had been wrapped and bound all round the body of the pillar since the 10th of the month (of Muharram) was removed, and, as it was removed, the men repolished the pillar before descending. After this the four masonry piers were also dismantled. Then the King sent for the wise men and for his engineers, architects and masons, and said, "This lofty pillar, while it was standing on the ground, was buried in the foundations to a depth of three yards but now that it has been erected on the top of such a lofty building, only two yards of it is fixed in the masonry, though in fact it ought to have been more firmly fixed here. But if more of it is taken down or fixed into the masonry, its height will decrease. What should be done that it may be firmly fixed and yet not lose anything of its present height." Everyone was bewildered and considered it to be impossible. Deep as they dug into the depths of thought and imagination, and much as they tried to find an answer worth presenting, they succeeded not. With the perfection of understanding which the Almighty God has bestowed upon His Majesty, the refuge of the country, the King ordered that up to a height of two yards and a half the pillar should be enclosed on each side by six stones placed one above the other, each upper stone being recessed a third of a yard and the whole constructed and arranged like the pedestal of a candle-stand. Thus, it would be a further support for the pillar which will be more firmly fixed and as each upper stone will recede half a yard it will not detract anything from the height of the monolith. At this speech [105-*b*] all began to bless the King, praying for the eternal existence of his powerful Kingdom; and the stones were arranged in steps according to the Royal instructions.

Then, at the base of the pillar, was laid the pavement of coloured stones—white marble, red stone (*sang-i-Maryam*) and black-stone, which were brought from all parts of the country; the temporary buildings constructed for the erection of the pillar, were dismantled; and the structure with the domes forming the uppermost storey, was provided with staircases and (finished); then the building of the middle storey described above was completed and decorated (paved); and, last of all, the lowest storey was taken up and similarly finished.

After this a corridor (*sābāt*) was built between the mosque and the pillar which latter now stood within the outer enclosure of the mosque. And after it had remained an object of worship of the polytheists and infidels for so many thousands of years, through the efforts of Sultan Firoz Shah and by the grace of God, it became the *minār* of a place of worship (*masjid*) for the Faithful. May God make this mighty Kingdom rich with the treasure of rewards and strengthen its supports. All praise is due to God.

(And from the taking down of this heavy pillar from its old site to its re-erection at Firozabad), none but his Majesty, whose rule be perpetuated, had any say in the matter of general plans or particular details.

MGIPC—M—III-9-66—31.3.37—350.

تذکرات
محکمہ آثارِ قدیمہ ہند

نمبر ۵۲

کوٹلہ فیروز شاہ دہلی

از
جے۔ اے پیج، اے۔ آر۔ آئی۔ بی۔ اے،
سابق سپرنٹنڈنٹ محکمہ آثارِ قدیمہ ہند

مع ترجمہ سیرِ فیروز شاہی

از
محمد حمید۔ قریشی۔ بی۔ اے،
سپرنٹنڈنٹ محکمہ آثار قدیمہ ہند

منتخب از سیرت

از صفحہ ۹۱ تا صفحہ ۱۰۵

فیروز شاہی

منارهٔ زرّین

آسمان سای ستونیست زیک پاره سنگ — گاوّدم رفته زبنیاد بهن بالا تنگ ۹۱ ب
می نماید جویکی کوه زر از صد فرسنگ — همچو خورشید که در صبح برون یار و جنگ
نپرد مرغ بر او جز نه عقاب و نه کلنگ — نرسد تیر بنمیش نه خطائی نه خدنگ
رعد گر بر سر او تند برآرد آهنگ — نشنود هیچ کس آواز ز دوری مکان
یارب این کوه گرانرا بچه برداشته اند — درچه بستند که جنبیدن نگذاشته اند
چون ببردند بالا و چسان داشته اند — بر بنائے که سرش بر فلک افراشته اند
چون توانسته که در زر همه بنگاشته اند — تا چو صبحی بزر آراسته پنداشته اند
طوبیست این که ملایک بزمین کاشته اند — یا یکے سدره که مردم جبل انگاشته اند
بن و بیخش بحدید و حجر انباشته اند — تنه و شاخ ز زر ساخته اند و مرجان

طریق[1] آوردن سنگ مناره و نصب کردن پیش مسجد از عجایبست برنهجی که بارشاه همایون آوردند
ونصب کردند درین کتاب ثبت شد تا طالبان کیفیت صورت اینمعنی را مفید آید و آن اینست
۹۲ الف چون بعنایت الٰهی جلت قدرته حضرت سلطنت پناه را خلدت ملکته فتح بلاد سند که از صعوبت
ضبط آن در ضمایر خلق تصوری محال می نمود و قرنها فسادان بلاد چون مرض مزمن مستولی مانده و کیفیت
این حال بر جهانیان پوشیده نیست۔ بوصول مواکب شکوه و جنود ثریا گروه و طلوع اعلام مهر انور
واطراز الویه فیروزی اثر ادامها الله طالعه بالظفر میسر شد۔ وبکفایت رسید و سران آن بلاد را

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[1] در نسخهٔ قلمی چنان نوشته :- بن و بیخش بحدید و حجر انباشته اند همایون تنه و شاخ ز زر ساخته اند
(سطر دیگر) و مرجان طریق آوردن سنگ مناره الخ

طاقت بشری بعیداست. وبعضے ایمهٔ کفر از کتب هندی حکایت کردند[1] که این سنگ از
تحت الثری رسته وسر سوی ثریا برده و بعضے گفتند که زیر این سنگ طلسمی کرده اند که هیچ کس
این نتواند جنبانید تا اگر زیر این بکاوند افاعی وحیات وعقارب وزنابیر بیرون آید واکفت بمردم
رسانند. امثال این کلمات وحکایات گفتند از آنجا که همت بادشاهانه وعزم خسروانه اقتضا ۹۳ الف
کرد پادشاه اسلام خلدالله ملکه فرمود که از عنایت باری بصیر وسمیع این عماد رفیع ومنیع را ببریم
ودر مسجد جمعه فیروزآباد مناره سازیم که تا بقاء عالم است برپای باشد انشاءالله تعالیٰ پس حکیمان عهد
وداهیان عصر ومهندسان ودانایانرا فرمان داد تا تدبیر فرود آوردن این ستون وبردن این
در فیروزآباد که مرجع اهل ربع مسکون است ونصب کردن آن در مسجد جمعه فیروزآباد بقدر عقل
وطبع ودهاء وذکاء خود عرضه دارند. الحق کسانیکه در عقل وحکمت وکیاست وذکاء ودهاء وکفایت
دعوی با ابوعلی سینا وافلاطون وجالینوس وارسطاطالیس وبرزجمهر داشتند در تدبیر این کار
دامن عجز بدندان اعتذار گرفتند وانتقال آن عمود را محال تصور کردند پادشاه اسلام خلدالله ملکهٗ
که حق جل وعلا فضایل دینی ودنیاوی ذات همایون او را عطا کرده وبکمال علم وحکمت بیاراسته
است بوفور عقل تدبیرها ساخته وهر یک چیز را برائے اتمام این امر خطیر برائی صایب خویش
ترتیب وتعبیهٔ فرود آوردن وروان کردن این سنگ بالهام ربانی چنانچه بر قانون عقل
فرموده بود میسر شد از بستن طنابها وپیلپایها وبستن طنابها بر نسبت هر سمتی وکشیدن
وداشتن بر میزان وبستن پیلان برای کشیدن سنگ وعجز آوردن پیلان از کشیدن ۹۳ ب
بار آن سنگ ودراز کردن طنابها وکشیدن بیست هزار مرد بگردن وآوردن در کناره
لب آب جون ومرتب کردن کشتی بر میزان بار آن سنگ را وبرنشاندن آن سنگ بر کشتی
وروان کردن بر روئ آب وآوردن پیش مسجد جمعه فیروزآباد وباز تعبیه نصب کردن ان
دران مقام وعمارت کردن در این موضع ونصب کردن چرخها وبالا بردن این ستون

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[1] در نسخهٔ قلمی کرده اند بنشسته ۱۲

بموافقت جمیع مقدمان وزمین داران بازن وفرزند وخویش وپیوند بدارالملک آورد چنانچه قصهٔ آن درباب غزا وشجاعت مسطوراست. بعدوصول رایات ظفرایات اعلی تختگاه دارالملک فیروزآباد حرسها اللہ ابدالآباد عزم شکار برصوب کوه سرمور اتفاق اوفتاد وپیش ازین درطوف شکار ستون سنگین برسمت کوه سرمور در موضع توپره کرانه لب آب جنانکه (؟) درجوئی فیروز باه روانست دیده شده بود ودروخطے بنشته که حروف آن مردم این عهد وزمان فهم نتوانستند کرد اما اهل تواریخ چنین اخبار کردند که چهار هزار اند سالست که این سنگ را نصب کرده اند - و دران جامعبد خود ساخته ودوبیست چهل ونه ساله خطی که مفهوم شد چنین نبشته اند که ببیل دیوار ای سنبهل چوهان برائے بت پرستی درلب آب سرستی آمده بود - وهمچنین این سنگ را نصب دیده و خبر گفتند ودُوَا بادشاه مغلان وقتلغ خواجهٔ مغل بالشکرها اینجا آمده بودند بعد ازان تربیشیرین نیز آمده بود دوکرت برلشکر خویش برهر سواری پشتواره هیزم قسمت کرده ۹۲ ب وآتش درزده تا تبر قد نتر قید لیکن اندک اثران درو پیداست پادشاه اسلام استعانت بخدائ قادر جلت قدرته کرد تا این ستون سنگین را درمسجد جمعه فیروزآباد کرانه لب آب جون ببرد نزدیک مسجد مذکور نصب کند بدین نیت بشکار برسمت سرمور سواری شد در موضع مقبول آباد عرف[1] توبره کرانه لب آب جنانکه (؟) درجوئی فیروز باه اُفتاده است ستون سنگین ایستاده بود که بطول ودور آن ستون کسی نشان نداده ه

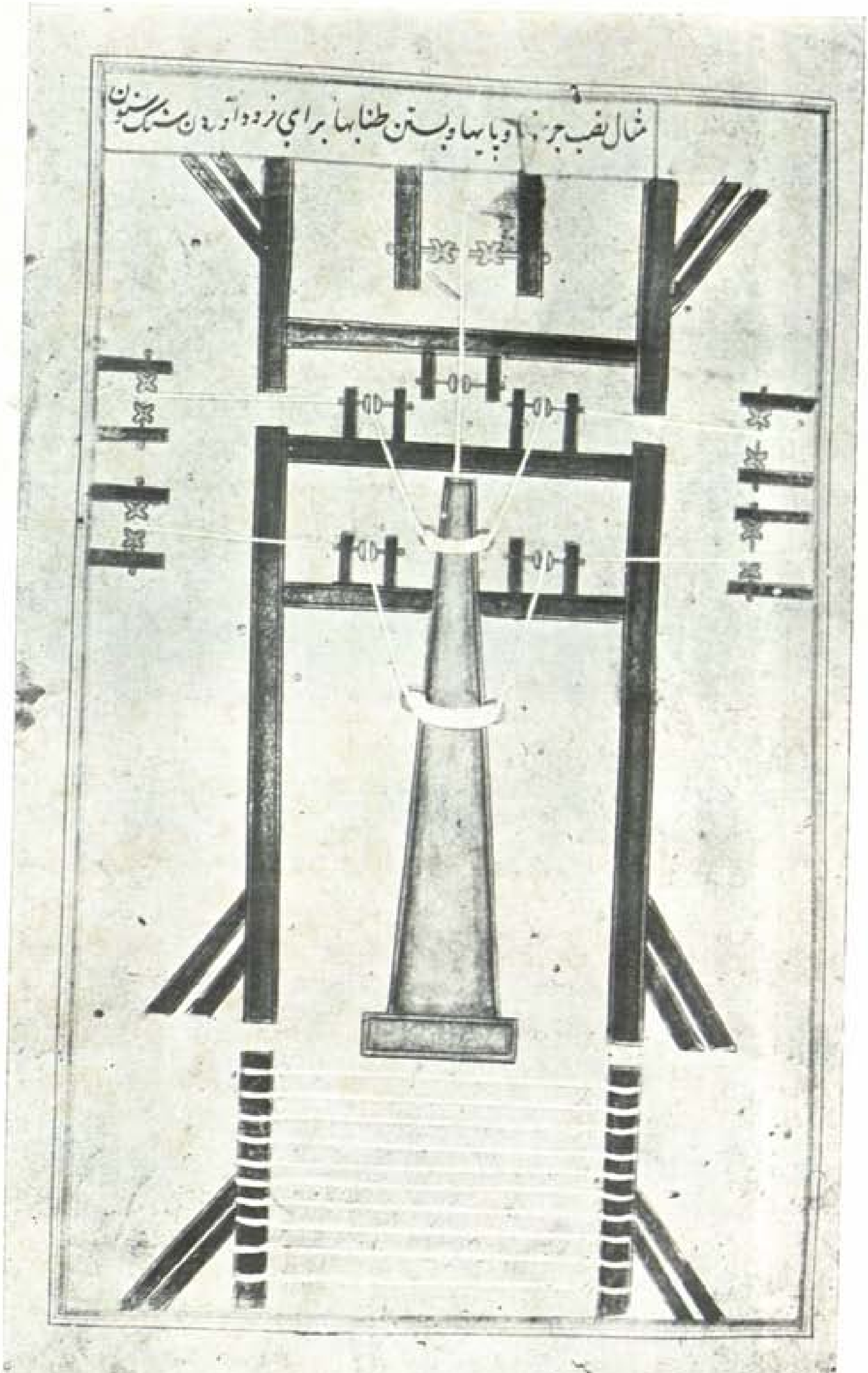
این چنین زیبا ستونی کس ندید زیر سقف آسمانِ بے ستون

درنظر همایون آمده عقلائے دهر وحکمائے عصر را از دیدن حیرت آمد وهر چند بدریائے فکرت غوص کردند دُرِّ این سر ازصدف خیال برکف مراد نتوانستند آورد که اینچنین ستونے سنگین با این طول وثقل از کجا نقل کرده اند - وبکدام شرایط وارکان آن[2] را برداشته ودرین مکان آورده - پس بچه تدبیر وهندسه اینجا نصب کرده - صدور چنین امری عظیم ازبنی آدم محالست که از

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[1] درنسخهٔ قلمی عرق نوشته [2] درنسخهٔ قلمی "ارکان آن برداشته" آمده -

مثال نصب چرخہا و پایہا و بستن طنابہا برائے فرود آوردن سنگ ستون ۹۴ ب



1. Erection of piers and pulleys and tying of ropes, for taking down the stone pillar.

والستاده کردن برقانون عقلی که عطاء حق تعالیٰ است همچنانکه ارشاد حضرت سلطنت خلد الله ملکه بود درماه محرم سنه تسع وستین وسبعمائة مرتب شد۔

تدبیر فرود آوردن ستون بزمین

بدین طریق فرمود که شش پایه از چوب برمثال پایهاء قبه هرپایه بدور ده گز وبارتفاع برابر
سرسنگ بنا کنند دو پایه عقب سنگ و دو پایه چپ‌ها سنگ ومسافت میان هرپایه شش گز
واز سنگ تا هرپایه هفت گز واین پایهارا به مسمار آهن محکم کنند وبخام وطناب در پیچند
وهرپایه راسته گان طرف دوگان چوب سطبر ودراز متکا نهند ومیان دوپایه باچوبها محکم وشه تیر
دردو محل بالا ومیانه وصل کنند وبر هرشه تیری یگان گردانک که بروطناب بگرد دراست کنند
همچنان پنج جا گردانکه نهند دوگان دردو بغل سنگ ویکی درعقب سنگ وبرای بستن
وگردانیدن این طنابها پنج چرخ مرتب کنند وپس چرخی که عقب ست عقبان سازند لایق آن
گردانکی دیگر نهند طنابی دیگر دروبندند بگردانند تا این شش طناب محکم پیچیده وسرسنگ ۹۴ الف
بدان بسته باشد وپیش سنگ دردو پایه بیست جای طنابها محکم بندند درمیان هرگزی
طنابی تا بوقت فرود آمدن چون سرنشیب کند بر هر طنابی که می رسد تکیه می کند وچهار طناب
دراز برسرسنگ بندند وبوقت فرود آوردن از پیش می کشند ویکان گز طنابها چرخهارا ست
می گذارند تا در طنابی که پیش بسته اند می آید وتکیه می کند بعدهٔ این طنابهارا از پیش می کشانند
وباز از پیش می کشند واز پس سست می گذارند تا همچنین بجائی رسد که سرسنگ بر پاشیب
که بسته باشند تکیه کند وان پاشیب از ته سنگ شش گز کشاده گیرند طرف سنگ ارتفاع
پاشیب پنج گز باشد وعقب پاشیب ارتفاع شانزده گز باشد وعرض ده گز وطول پانزده گز
این پاشیب از گل برآرند وچهار طرف متکای چوب محکم کنند[لے]

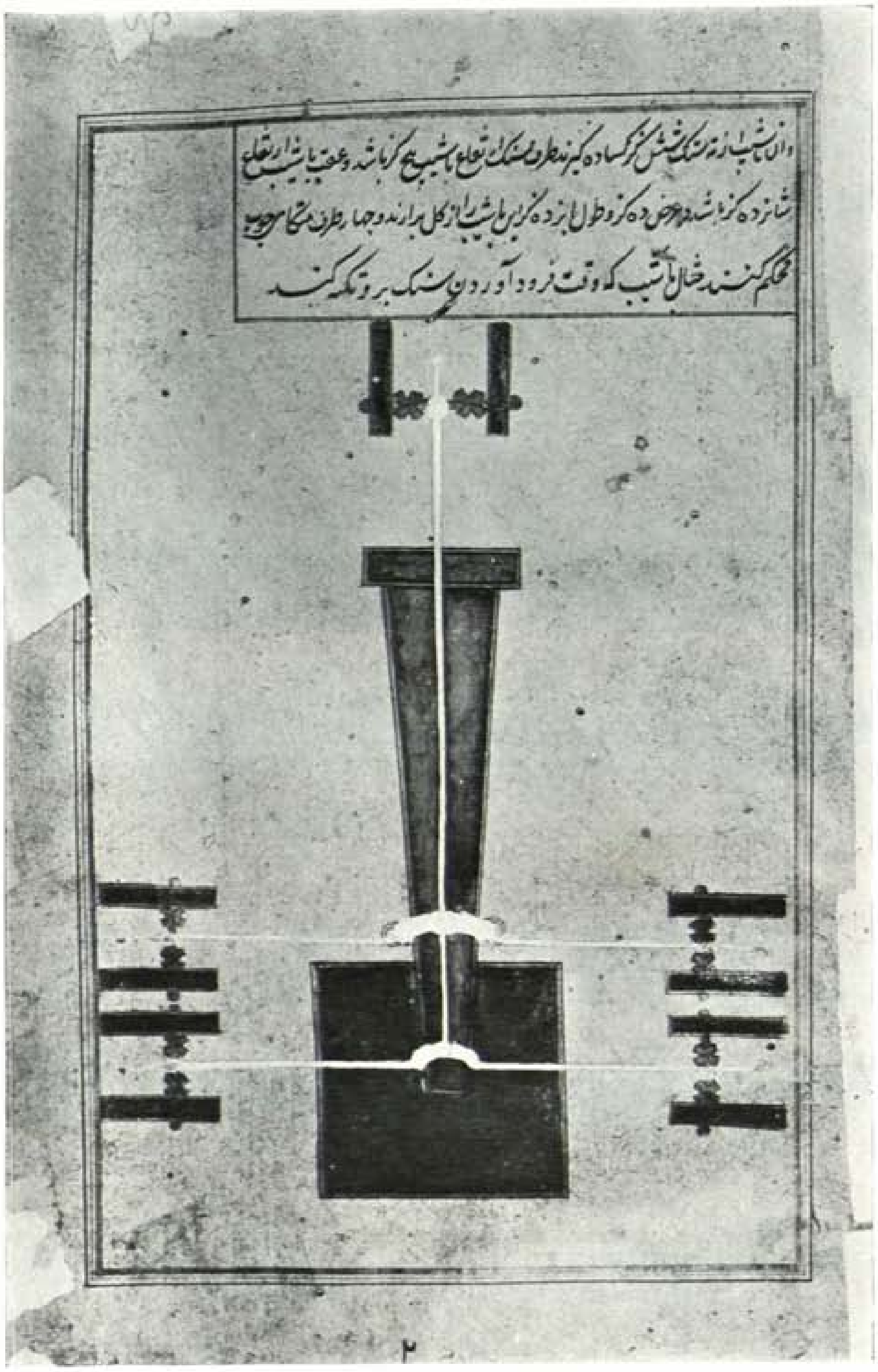
وآن سنگ را پیش از آنکه فرود آرند بنیز ها غلاف کنند و بچرم خام به پیچند و بالای پاشیبگاه ۹۵ ب
شاے بسیار اندازند تا سنگ را آسیبی نرسد و چون بر پاشیب تکیه کردیکان گز گل پاشیب
از ته سنگ دور می کنند و طنابها، عقب را و جانبین را محکم می دارند چون یک گز گل برداشته شد
از عقب طنابها چرخ را سست می گذارند، همچنین تا بر زمین آید چنانچه فرمان بود، همچنان کردند
و هم بر آن ترتیب بر نهج مطلوب سنگ مذکور سر بر زمین نهاد-

تدبیر بر نشاندن ستون بر گردون که بهندوی لرهه گویند

پادشاه اسلام خلدالله ملکه فرمود تا گردونی راست کنند موافق طول آن ستون باده پایه
هر پایه را دور ده گز باشد بیارند آن گردون را در عرض مقابل ستون بنهند و از ان طریق
که ستون نست پایها گردون بکشند و دیواری از خشت پخته بر آرند و پایها که از زبانه بیرون خواهند
آورد برابر دیوار نهند و میان دیوار و ستون شش گز مسافت باشد بس از سر آن دیوار
تا پهلوی ستون پاشیب بندند و طرف دوم گردون که پایها قائمست چهار چرخ بنهند
از پهلوئ گردون تا آن چرخها ده گز مسافت باشد بس طنابهائے چرخ را چهار جا در ستون
بندند و چهار طناب دیگر در میانها به بندند بدست بکشند بدان قدر که می خواهند چرخ
می گردانند و طنابها سست می دهند تا آن زمان که سنگ بالائے گردون راست بنشیند
پس دیوار را از ته زبانها و پایه دور کنند و پایها را باز در آرند و ته گردون پاک کنند تا مستعد
روان شدن گردد همچنان که فرمان بود کردند و شد

٩٥ الف وان پاشیب ازته سنگ شش گز کشاده گیرند طرف سنگ ارتفاع پاشیب پنج گز باشد
وعقب پاشیب ارتفاع شانزده گز باشد وعرض ده گز وطول پانزده گز این پاشیب را
ازگل برارند و چهارطرف منکای چوب محکم کنند۔

مثال پاشیب که وقت فرودآوردن سنگ برو تکیه کند



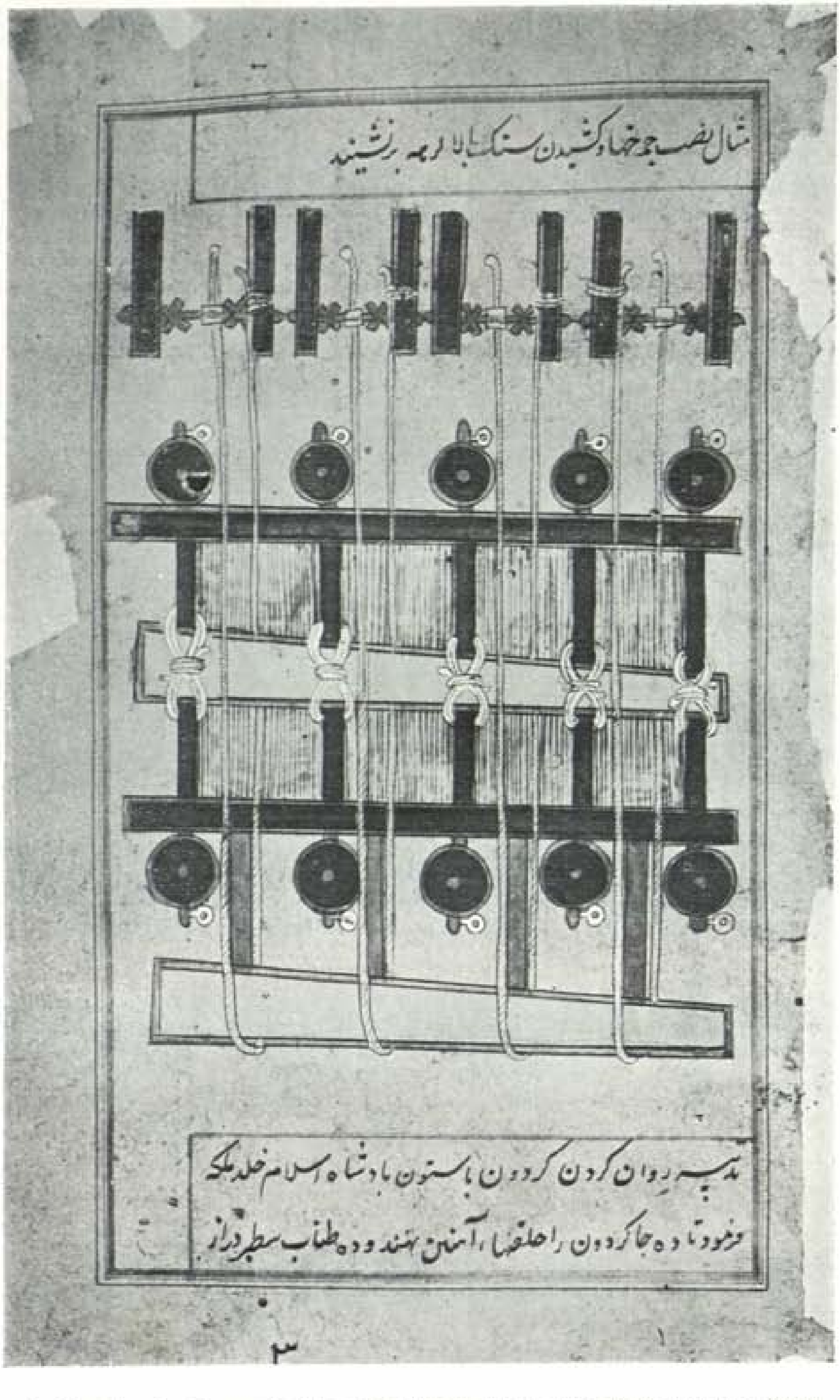
2. *Pasheb* on which the stone pillar would rest while taken down.

رایک سر هر دو طرف گردون بحلقها در آرند و یکسر در گردن پیلان کوه پیکر
بندند و سه طناب دیگر پیش گردون در گردن ستوران نهند تا از پیش و چپ و
راست امی کشند و چهار طناب همچنین پس گردون بندند و جمعی آدمیان آنرا گرفته می روند
هر جاکه زمین نشیب پیش می آید چهار طناب عقب را می کشیده می دارند تا یکبارگی
زور نکند و بی هنجار در نرود که خوف خلل باشد و چون زمین بلند شود پیش
می آید گیرندگان طنابها پیش بزور می کشند تا بر رود الحق چنین کردند و چون پیلان
بستند هرچند که پیلان بزور کشیدند گردون بزور پیلان چون کوه رعد خروش
گردون شکوه از جای نجنبید پادشاه اسلام فرمان داد تا پیلان را
از انجا بکشایند و جمعیت کثیر از احرار و عبید آن طنابها بگیرند و بکشند
خانان و امرا و معارف و وضیع و شریف خواص و عوام در آمدند - و طنابها را در گردن
اطاعت گرفتند و کشیدن بعون الله تعالی عجله عجله نمود روان شد همگنانرا
فرحت و بهجت بیقیاس روی داد و در محل اظهار بندگی گفتند

باری که هزار پیل مستت نکشد — بر گردن خود نهیم و آسان بکشیم

و همچنین با ترتیب تمام چنانکه مطلوب بود در ساحل لب آب جون که آنجا کشتی مرتب
شده بود رسید الحمد لله والمنة

۹۶ الف مثال نصب چرخها و کشیدن سنگ بالاے لرہه بر نشیند



3. Erection of pulleys and raising the pillar in order to place it on the *ladha* (cart).

تدبیر روان کردن گردون باستون بادشاه اسلام خلد ملکهٗ فرمود تا ده جا گردون را حلقها، آهنین نهند و ده طناب سطبر دراز

گذرکشتی آنجاکه خواهند بست بقدر آن عمق دهند زمین بکاوند تا درست (شود و) پایها که
برسمت کشتی است بکشند دورکنند ومتکا، گردون درین سمت بر زمین باشد وچهار چرخ مقابل
طرف پس ستون بمسافت دهکان گز بنهند ودو چرخ درگوشها رستون هم برین مسافت
بس درآن چرخها طنابها، محکم بندند وپاشیبی سازند از سنگ تا نصف عرض کشتی که آنجا خواهد
نشست از چوبها سطبر بس طنابهای چهار چرخ مقابل وچهار طناب که جمعیت مردم بدست گرفته
خواهند بود یکان کز سست می دهند ومی دارند[1] تا هر دو طرف سنگ راست باشد وهمچنین ببرند
تا درمیانه کشتی بنشیند ودر کشتی بیش از ان یکان چشمه خالی گذارند که جای کشیدن آب باشد و
یکان چشمه را از گچ بسته[2] پرکنند ودر هر دو کرانه کشتی دهکان چوب دراز سنبل وناز معلق کنند که آنرا
بهندوی تارن می گویند تا کشتی را دربار کردن ودر آب روان کردن مدد باشد ودر کرانه دوم کشتی که
طرف آبست دو کشتی بزرگ بندند تا متکا باشد چون ستون بر کشتی راست بنشیند از طنابها
هشت جا با کشتی وتارن به پیچید وبسم الله مجریها ومرسیها بخوانند وروان کنند بالا بر حصار ۹۸ ب
فیروزآباد درگذری که در آنجا کرانه جون را کافتن فرموده ایم فرود آرند. از انجا هم بر آن ترتیب که ۹۹ الف
برگردون نشانده تا بکشتی آورده اند از کشتی تا مسجد فیروزآباد ببرند.

مثال کشیدن پایهای لرهه از یک طرف وبستن طنابها وکشیدن سنگ تا بر کشتی بر نشیند ۹۸ الف

(دیکھئے رنگین تصویر پلیٹ نمبر (a) VI)

مثال رسیدن کشتی با ستون در کرانه جون ودرآوردن لرهه وبستن طنابها تا سنگ از کشتی فرود آید وبر لرهه بر نشیند.

(دیکھئے رنگین تصویر پلیٹ نمبر (b) VI)

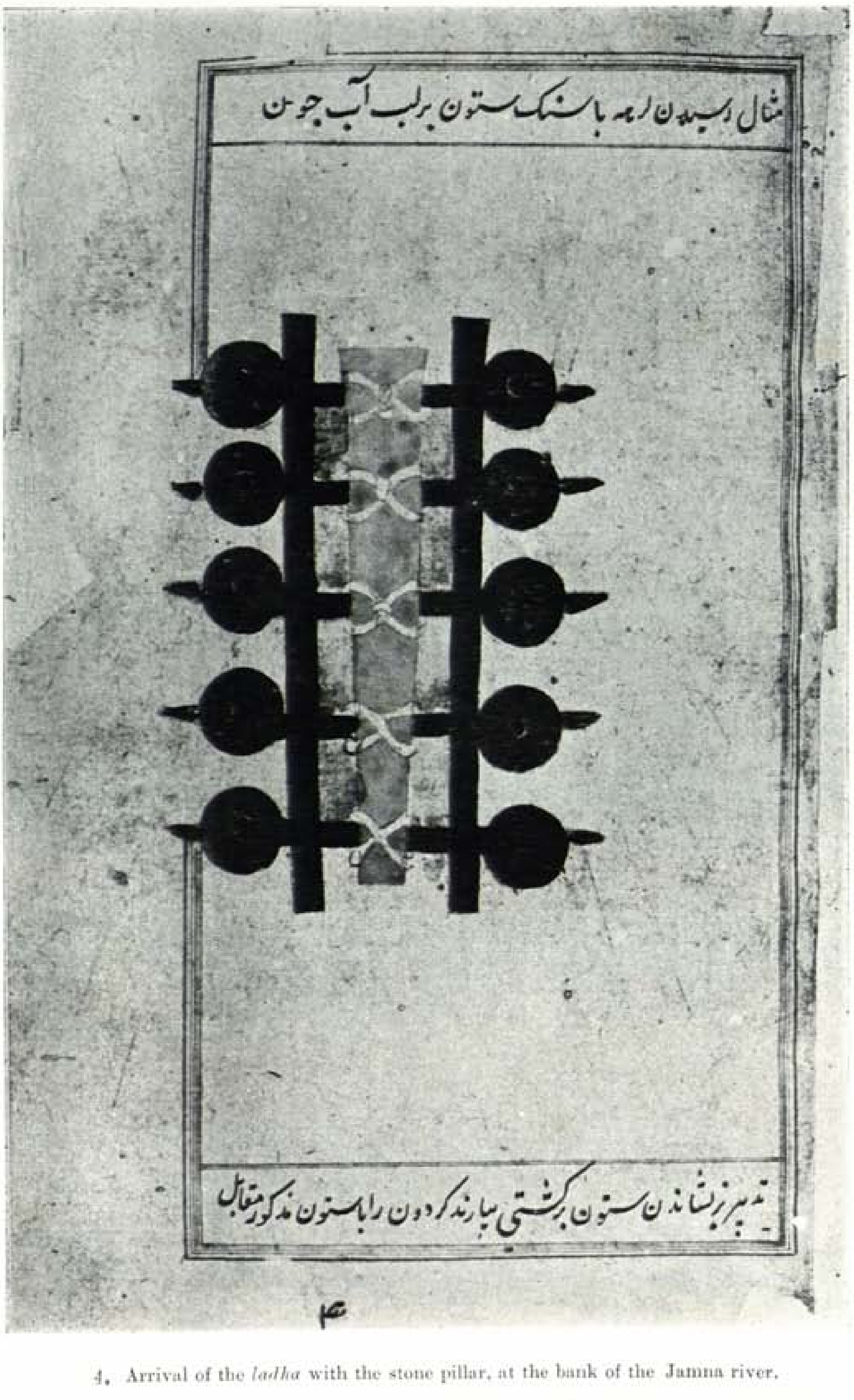
مثال روان کردن لرهه با سنگ ستون بر سمت شهر فیروزآباد

(دیکھئے رنگین تصویر پلیٹ نمبر (c) VI)

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[1] در نسخهٔ قلمی (دادند) نوشته ۱۲ [2] در نسخهٔ قلمی (گچ) نوشته ۱۲

۹۷ الف مثال رسیدن لرهه باسنگ ستون[۱۲] برلب آب جون



4. Arrival of the *ladha* with the stone pillar, at the bank of the Jamna river.

۹۷ ب تدبیر برنشاندن ستون برکشتی بیارند گردون را باستون مذکور مقابل

تا بعنایت حق تعالیٰ آنرا درمسجد نصب کنند انشاءالله تعالیٰ همچنانکه ارادت حضرت (سایه) ۱۰۰ ب
حق بود حق تعالیٰ میسر گردانید۔

تدبیر نصب کردن ستون وساختن مناره درمسجد جمعه فیروزآباد

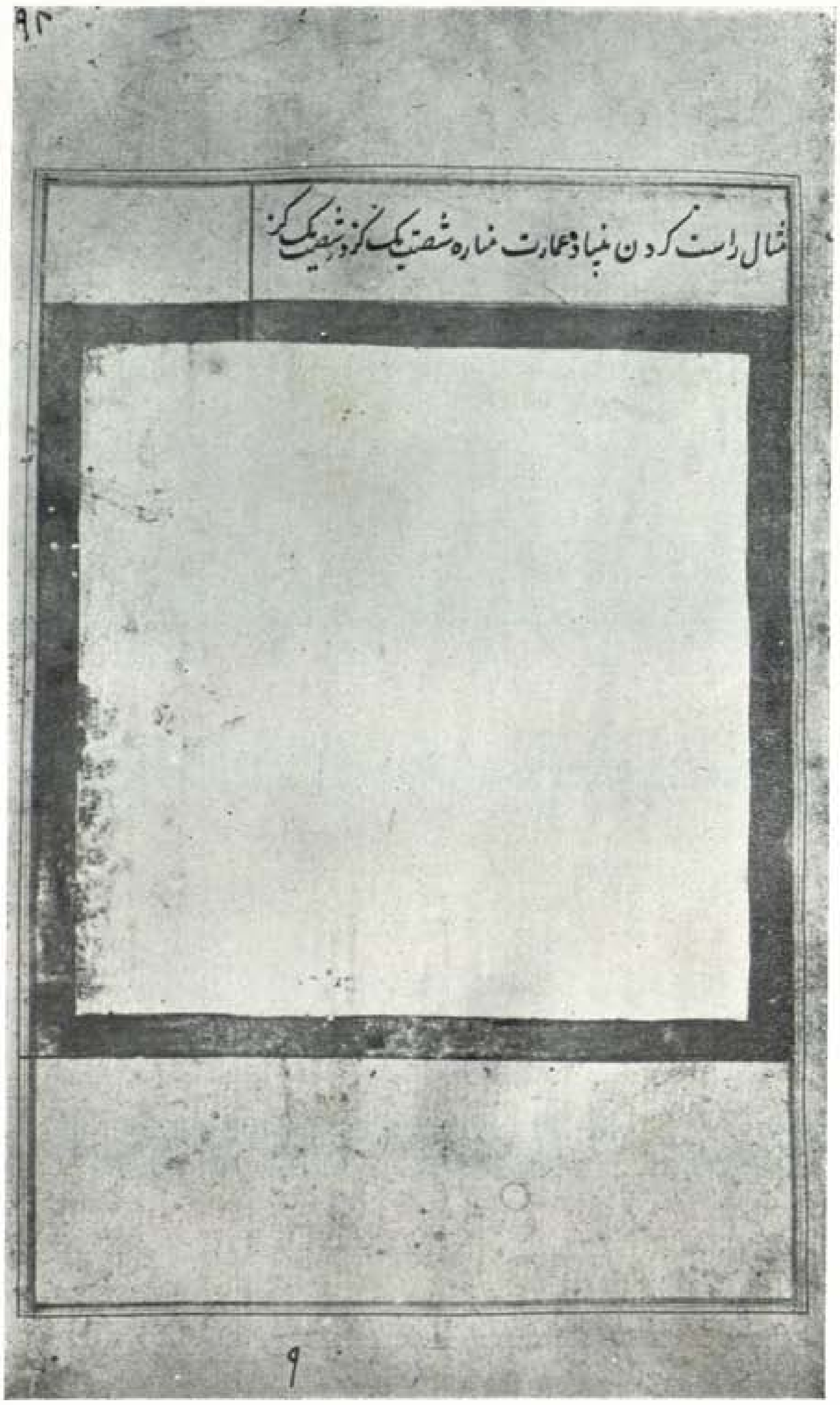
بادشاه اسلام فرمود تا شصت یک گز در شصت یک گز زمین مربع بکاوند عمق آن تا هفت گز ومجموع عمق را از سنگ وگچ بنیاد عمارت کنند تا برابر زمین شود۔ چون بالای زمین آید شصت گز در شصت گز باشد۔ وهمچنین تمام از سنگ وگچ عمارت کنند بارتفاع سه گز۔ ازین جمله یک گز از فرود برون گز ارند وبالائے آن دو گز دیگر سطح دوکان باشد۔ از بالا، سه گزی مذکور عمارت دوکان کنند بارتفاع شش گز نیم چنانکه بام دوکان بعرض هشت گز باشد وان بام صحن پوشش مرتبهٔ دوم شود۔

مثال عمارت مرتبه اول وبالابردن سنگ بکشش طنابها درین مرتبه ۱۰۱ الف

مثال رسیدن لرہہ باستون پیش مسجد شہر فیروزآباد ۹۹ ب

(دیکھئے رنگین تصویر پلیٹ نمبر (d) VI)

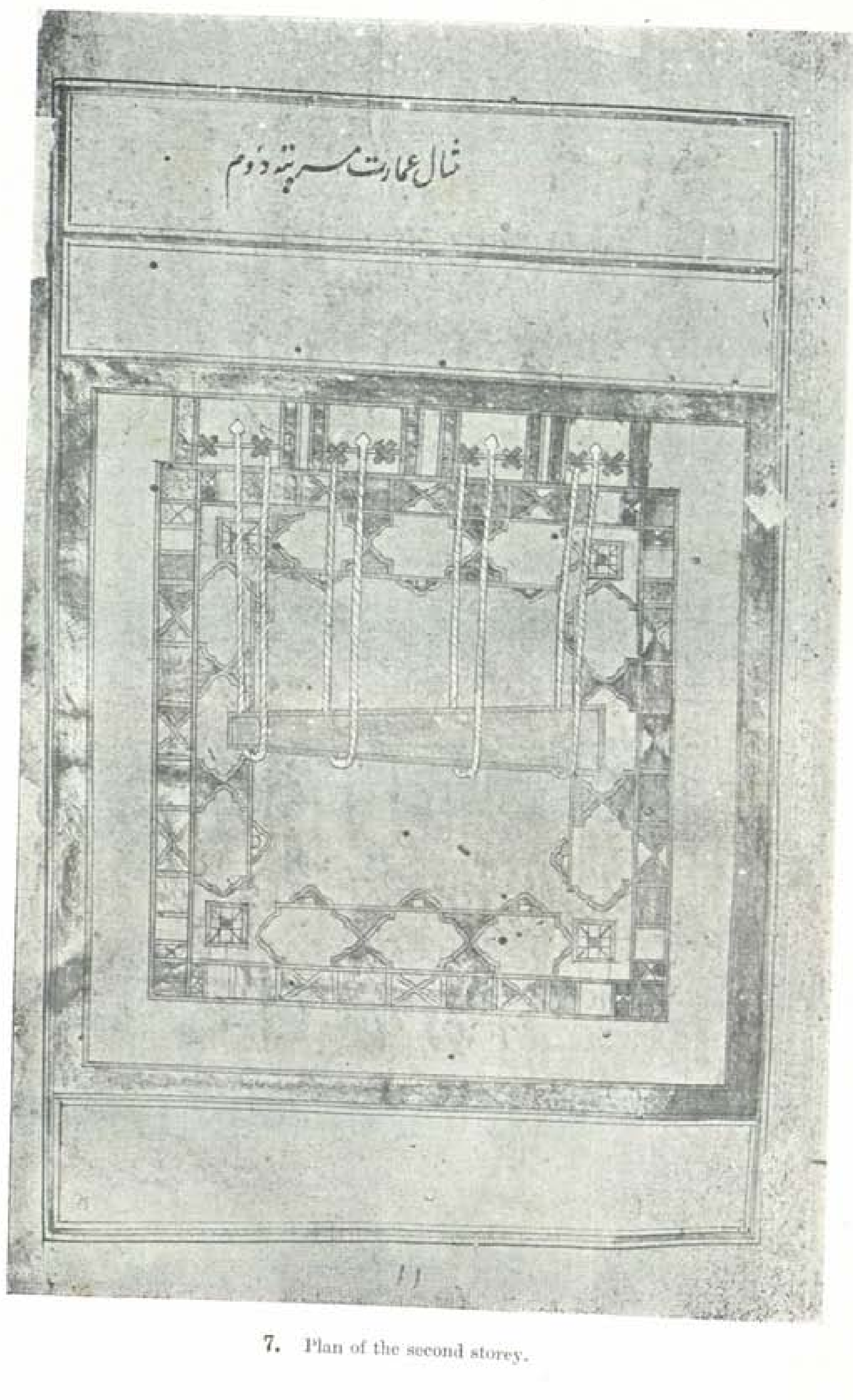
مثال راست کردن بنیاد عمارت منارہ شصت یک گز در شصت یک گز ۱۰۰ الف



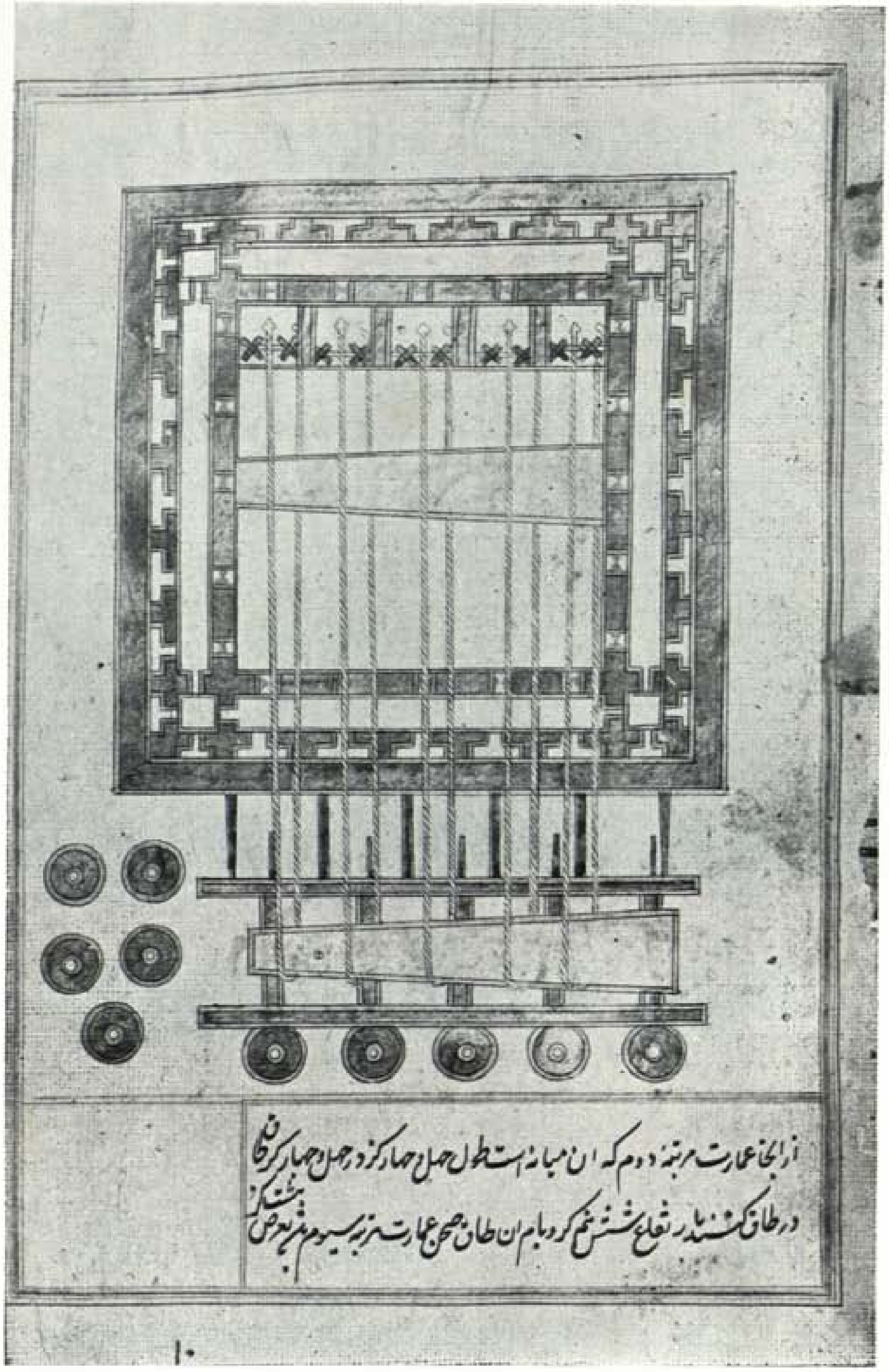
5. Constructing foundations of a structure, 61 yards square thereon to set up the pillar.

۱۷

مثال عمارت مرتبه دوم



7. Plan of the second storey.



6. Building of the 1st storey and raising the pillar on to its top by means of ropes.

ازانجا عمارت مرتبهٔ دوم که ان میانه است طول چهل و چهار گز در چهل و چهار گز طاق
درطاق کنند بارتفاع شش نیم گز و بام ان طاق صحن عمارت مرتبهٔ سیوم باشد بعرض هشت گز



8. Raising the pillar two yards at a time, first at one end and then at the other.

۱۰۲ الف وعمارت مرتبه سیوم طول بیست وهشت گز دربیست هشت گز ازانجمله بعرض نه گز هرچهار
طرف هشت گنبد عمارت کنند تا میانه ان که جائی نصب کردن سنگ است
ده گز درده گز بماند وانزا ریخته باسنگ و گچ باحتیاط برارند وارتفاع عمارت مرتبه
سیوم شش نیم گز باشد تا آنجا ارتفاع عمارت هرسه مرتبه بیست دو نیم گز باشد۔

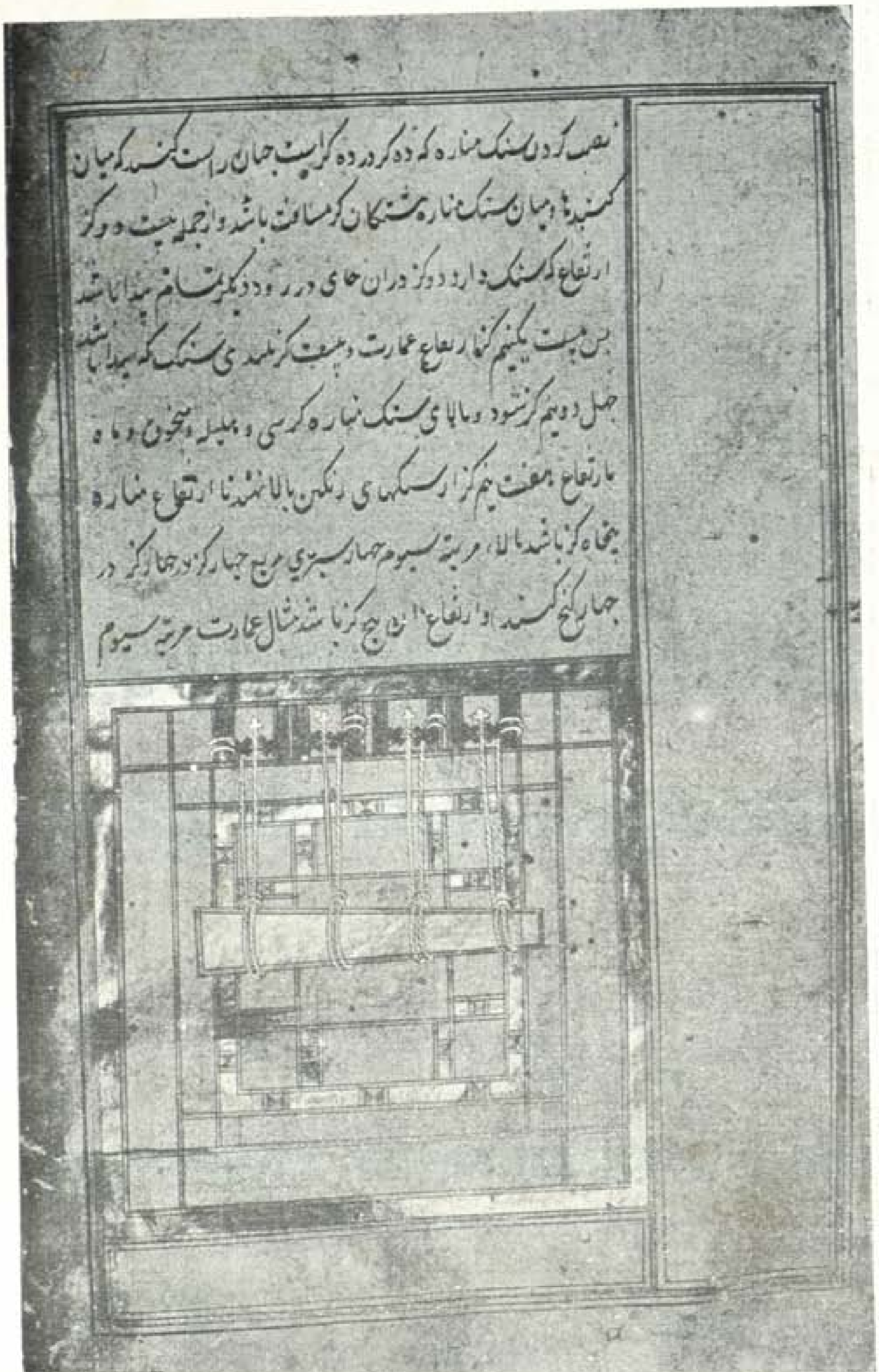
مثال بُردن سنگ بالا دوکان گزی از راستا چپا واز چپا راستا

این مثال انست که سنگ راچون بالا برند چون بر دوگز عمارت شده رسید
باز طرف دوم که خالی است دوگز عمارت کردند تا سنگ دران جانب غلطد
طرف دوم باز دوگز عمارت کنند بالاتر برند ہمچنین دوکان کز عمارت میشود وسنگ
۱۰۲ ب بالاتر می برند وآن جائی نصب کردن سنگ مناره که ده گز درده گز است چنان
راست کنند که میان گنبد ها و میان سنگ مناره هشتکان گز مسافت باشد۔ و
ازجمله بیست دوگز ارتفاع که سنگ دارد دوگز درآن جائی دررود دیگر تمام
پیدا باشد۔ پس بیست یک نیم گز ارتفاع عمارت و بیست گز بلندی سنگ
که پیدا باشد چهل دو نیم گز شود۔ و بالائی سنگ مناره کرسی و ہلیله ومنجوق
و ماه بارتفاع هفت نیم گز از سنگهائی رنگین بالا نهند ارتفاع مناره
پنجاه گز باشد۔ بالائ مرتبه سیوم چهار سبری مربع چهار گز در چهار گز درچهار کنج کنند
وارتفاع آن پنج گز باشد۔

ذکر تدبیر عمارت و بالا بردن سنگ بارشاد و انشار بادشاه اسلام فرمان شد ۱۰۳ الف
برین نوع کنند- اوّل دفعت که تا نه نیم گز ارتفاع مرتبه اوّل شده باشد پاشیبی راست
کنند بعرض بست هشت گز- وهشت چرخ بالائی سطح عمارت نصب کنند- ودو چرخ
در بنا کوشش که هردو سر سنگ در وبسته اند- وطنابها ردستی ده جا بر دست گرفته
بعده از فرود پاشیب بست جا کها ران چو بها متکا نهاده که انرا سانک خوانند- ودو چوب
بزرگ سطبر بطول سنگ مناره بدور پنج گز برابر مناره نهند- وچرخها بگردانند
وطنابها دستی بکشند- هرچند که سنگ مناره بالاتر می آید آن دو چوب سطبر باآن
سنگ که پشتی نهاده اند بالاتر میرود- چون سنگ مناره از پاشیب بالا آمد و بر بام
مسطح رسید از آنجا غلطان برند نزدیک چرخها دارند- باز از آن طرف که سنگ رسیده
است وچرخها نهاده اند بقدر دور سنگ زمین گذارند باقی سطح را بارتفاع دو گز عمارت
کنند- باز طنابها سنگ مناره را بکشند بالا، این سطح که دو گز بلند شده است
بگذرانند- باز، همچنین غلطان طرف دوم برند وآنجا بقدر دور سنگ همچنان زمین گذارند
باقی را بارتفاع دو گز تمام عمارت کنند پس، همچنین دوگان گز بالا
می برند تا آنجا که بیست یک نیم گز ارتفاع عمارتست چون آنجا رسید
تمامی سطح را آنجا که محل مستقیم است بگچ وسنگ وانجا که عمارت عاریتست
بسنگ وگل هموار کنند- پس کرسی که بالائی آن سنگ خواهد ایستاد ۱۰۲ ب
در مرکز آن سطح بنشانند وچنان راست وهموار بنهند که ذره وحبه را
از طرفی میل نبود- پس بیارند سه ستون بطول هفت گز بارتفاع یک گز
وعرض یک گز وبرسمت جنوبی وشرقی وغربی استوار بنهند- بعده یک سنگ
دیگر بارتفاع یک گز وطول هفت گز برسمت جنوبی بالا، سنگی که پیش ازین نهاده اند بنهند

۲۰

مثال عمارت مرتبه سیوم



9. Third storey of the structure on which the pillar was set up.

پیلپایه دوازده گزی رسد- بس شهتیر وگروانکه از سرآن پیلپایه دوازده گزی دور کنند
وزیر سنگ بسنگ وگل برشکل پاشیب عمارت کنند- بار دیگر باز طنابها، چرخ راگردانند
در بغل سه گان گروانکه وسه گان چرخ دیگر بنهند وطنابها بکشند تا سنگ مناره پنج گز
بلند شود وثلث اول برشه تیر پیلپایه یازده گزی رسد- ازآنجا نیزآن شهتیر را وگروانکها
را دور کنند- همچنان کردند ودرین مرتبه رسید- چون کشش[۱] طنابها هرچه از ثلثان سنگ
فرود تربسته اند جمله بگردانند وازسر سنگ تا ثلث اورا بندند- وهمچنین گروانکها که طناب
آن میل بجانب سفلی دارد برطرف علوی نهند تا میل بن سنگ از مقدار مطلوب زایدنیفتد
همچنین کردند پنج گز دیگر بلند ترشد- وباستوا، قریب شد- پس ازان بادشاه اسلام
فرمود که سه طرف آن سنگ عمارت سنگین شده است نباید بوقت ایستادن دهکه برآن
عمارت سنگین زند واکفتی معاذالله بدو رسد برائے دفع این وهم بحکم فرمان ۱۰۴ ب
سی پنج جا طناب سطبر در دو پایهٔ بلند که پیش سنگ نصب شده بود بستند- وفرمان شد
که آن طنابها راست بندند تا استوار قیام مناره را مانع نباشد ودهکه اورا منع کند- وبالشی
بطول ده گز وارتفاع یک گز ازجوال پرکاه کنند میان عمارت سنگین ومیان سنگ
مناره بنهند تا نرم نرم آنجا برسد ودهکه برعمارت سنگین نزند همچنان کردند- روز
چهارشنبه دهم ماه صفر سنه تسع وستین وسبعمائة چنانکه مطلوب بود سنگ مناره
مستولی شد وبرپای ایستاد هم درروز چنانکه فرمان شده بود دو سنگ شمالی که
مهیا داشته بودند درپائی مناره درآوردند- وبارتفاع دوگز هرچهار جانب مقید شد
حکمت غیری سبب نبود وسخن حکیمی ومهندسی ومعمارے وسو تهارے ودامیٔ وکامیٔ
رادرین کار مساغ ومدخل اصلا وراستا نبود- ازتدبیر فرودآوردن وتدبیر برنشاندن
درکشتی وترتیب روان کردن وفرودآوردن ازکشتی وتدبیر درآوردن درون حصار

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[۱] بجائے الفاظ (چون کشش) لفظ (پس) باید-۱۲

دو طرف دیگر شرقی و غربی طول دوگان گزی و ارتفاع یک گزی بنهند- و دو سنگ
که برسمت شمال خواهند نهاد یکی بطول هفت گز بالائی یکی بعرض یک گز فرود هر دو سنگ
را بیارند برآن سمت مهیا دارند- تاآن زمان که سنگ مناره برجائی خود قرار گیرد
بایستد- بعده سنگ مناره را برشکل گردونی که پایهای آن کوتاه و گردان بود برنشانند
و یک طرف بکشند تابن سنگ باسر برابر شود- بعده بست چهار چرخ نصب کنند
برین ترتیب-

جنوبی	شرقی	غربی
که برسمت مسجد است	راستا سنگ مناره	چپا سنگ مناره
هشت چرخ	شش چرخ	شش چرخ

بنا گوش سنگ شرقی

و غربی تا سنگ را محل اشکال باشد دو چرخ- بمسافت هفت گز سه چرخ
بمسافت چهار گز سه چرخ- بن سنگ دو جانب تابن سنگ را محل اشکال باشد
دو چرخ- و چهار کان پایه برطرف پایهای قبه در دو جانب سنگ مناره نصب کنند-

بدین تفصیل دوازده گزی	یازده گزی	ده گزی
در سر مناره	از و پنج گز فرود تر	از و پنج گز فرود تر
دو پایه	دو پایه	دو پایه

نه گزی از و پنج برسمت بن مناره دو پایه- و برسمت جنوبی و شرقی و غربی برشکل برج عمارت ۱۰۴ الف
سنگین کنند بارتفاع هشت گز- بعده طنابهائی چرخ بگردانند و کهاران چوبهای سانک بنهند
وزور کنند- همچنین که یک گز سر سنگ مناره اززمین بالا آید در حال سنگ و گل
ته عمارت کنند- چون عمارت شده باشد طنابها چرخ بکشند- هرچند که سر مناره
بالاتر می رود فرود او هم برآن نسبت عمارت سنگ و گل کنند تاآن زمان که مقابل

سنگ سُرخ که آنرا سنگ مریم خوانند درپای مناره بستند۔ بعده عمارتی عارضی که برائے
بالابردن سنگ شده بود فرود آوردند۔ وعمارت گنبد ہا که مرتبۂ بالاست نرد بانہا
مرتب کردند و بیاراستند۔ پس ازان عمارت مرتبه میانه که کیفیت درصدر مذکوراست
مرتب کردند و بیاراستند بعدهٔ درعمارت مرتبه فرودین مشغول شدند آن نیز ہمچنان
که بکیف درصدور مذکوراست مرتب شد۔ پس ازان ساباطی میان مسجد و مناره
عمارت شد و مناره باحریم داخل مسجد آمد و بعد ازچندین ہزار سال که معبد مشرکان و
کافران بود بارادت الٰہی ازسعی جمیل فیروز شاہی منارۂ سجده گاه مؤمنان شده
حق تعالیٰ مثوبات بایام دولت قاہره شیدالله ارکانہا مدخر گردد[2] وَالْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعٰلَمِیْنَ
واز[1] آغاز فرود آوردن سنگ ازمستقر قدیم تا نصب کردن چنین
منارے عظیم درکلی وجزوی جزارشاد وامر حضرت بادشاه خلدالله ملکهٗ
ہیچ کسے را مساغ ومدخلی نبود

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[1] در نسخهٔ قلمی دز نوشته
[2] گرداند یا گرداناد باید۔

وتدبیر عمارت کردن وبالابردن ونصب کردن هر چه شد بامر وارشاد بادشاه دین پناه بود- حق تعالی ذات همایون بادشاه اسلام رابرا قامت حسنات وبناء خیرات موفق دارد آمین وبالاے آن از جانب شمالی برج که خالی بود دیوار از سنگ وگج بر آوردند تاهشت گز ارتفاع سنگ مناره درگرفت- بس ازان پایها وچرخها ومتکاها وهرچه برائے نصب کردن نصب شده بود فرود آوردند مگر چهار پایه که گرد مناره است-پس ازان سنگهائے رنگین وآرایش رزین از کرسی وهلیله وطاس وکنگی وسبو وکنگی دوم وسبوچه وکنگی سیوم وصراحی وماه که ارتفاع آن هفت نیم گز ست نهادند-پس ازان غلافِ نیبزه که در سنگ مناره بعد از دهم ماه که پیچیده بودند کشاده شد وسنگ مناره جلا داده فرود آمدند- پس ازان ان چهار پایه را نیز فرود آوردند- بادشاه اسلام حکیمان ومهندسان ومعماران وسوتهاران راطلب فرمود- وپرسید که این چنین سنگی بلندی برروئ زمین ایستاده بود وسه گز درون زمین بود-این زمان برچنین عمارتے رفیع آمده دوگز درون عمارت دررفته- استحکام واحکام زیادت باید- واگر بیشتر درون عمارت برند از ارتفاع اوکم شود- چه باید کرد که استحکام باشد واز ارتفاع اوکم نشود- همه را اینمعنی متناقض نمود- متحیر گشتند- هرچه درغوامض عقل ودقایق فکر تعمق کردند وبذل مجهود نمودند که جوابی محصل غرض عرض کنند نتوانستند- از کمال درایتی که حق جل وعلا حضرت سلطنت پناه را عطا فرموده است- فرمود که تا بارتفاع دو نیم گز شش قطعه سنگ از هر قطعه ثلث گز کشاده گذارند وهر شش قطعه را درپای سنگ چون کعب شمع بنهند- ازآن جهت که این متکاے مناره شود ویکے برو استحکام شده باشد وازان جهت که نیم گز میان هر قطعه کشاده است هیچ از ارتفاع سنگ مناره کم نشده ۱۰۵ الف

برین ارشاد همگنان بدعار بقار دولت قاهره افزودند- وهمچنین مرتب شد- فرش سنگین ازسنگهائے رنگین که از اطراف آورده بودند- سنگ مرمر سفید - سنگ سیاه ۱۰۵ ب